WESTMINSTER ABBEY

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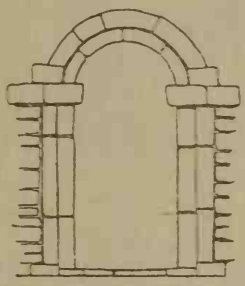
THE DEVELOPMENT of MEDIAEVAL

ROMANESQUE



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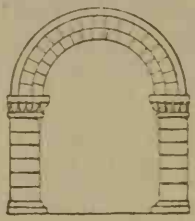

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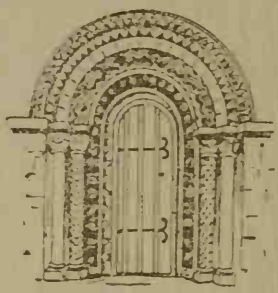

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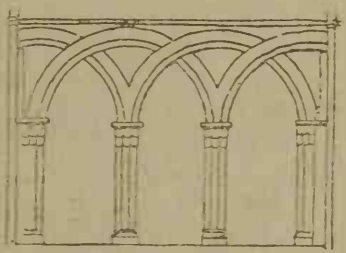

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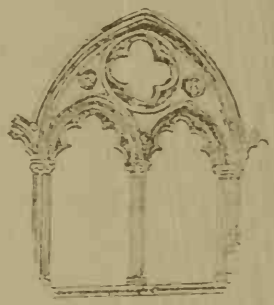

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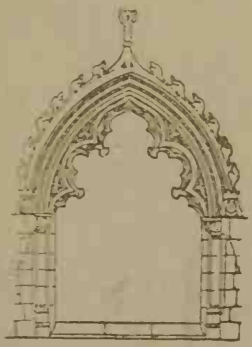

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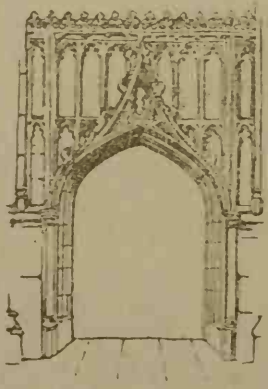

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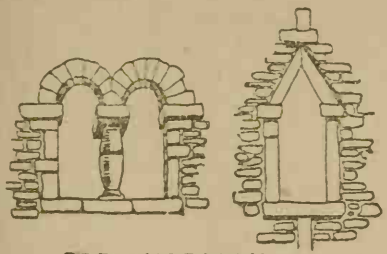

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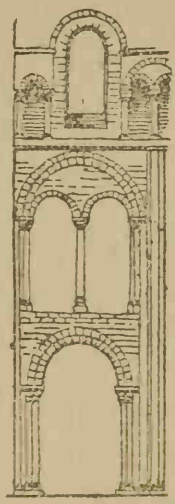

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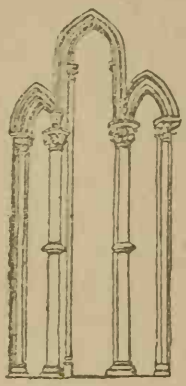

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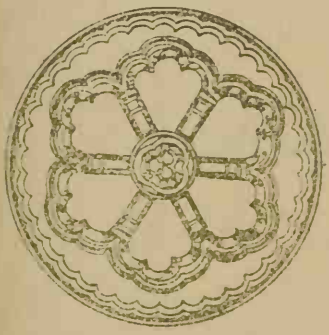

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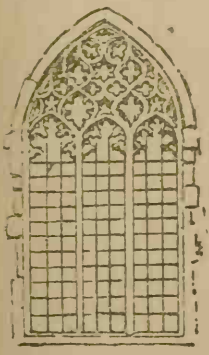

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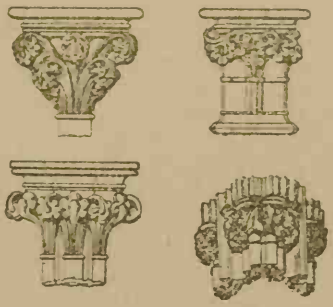

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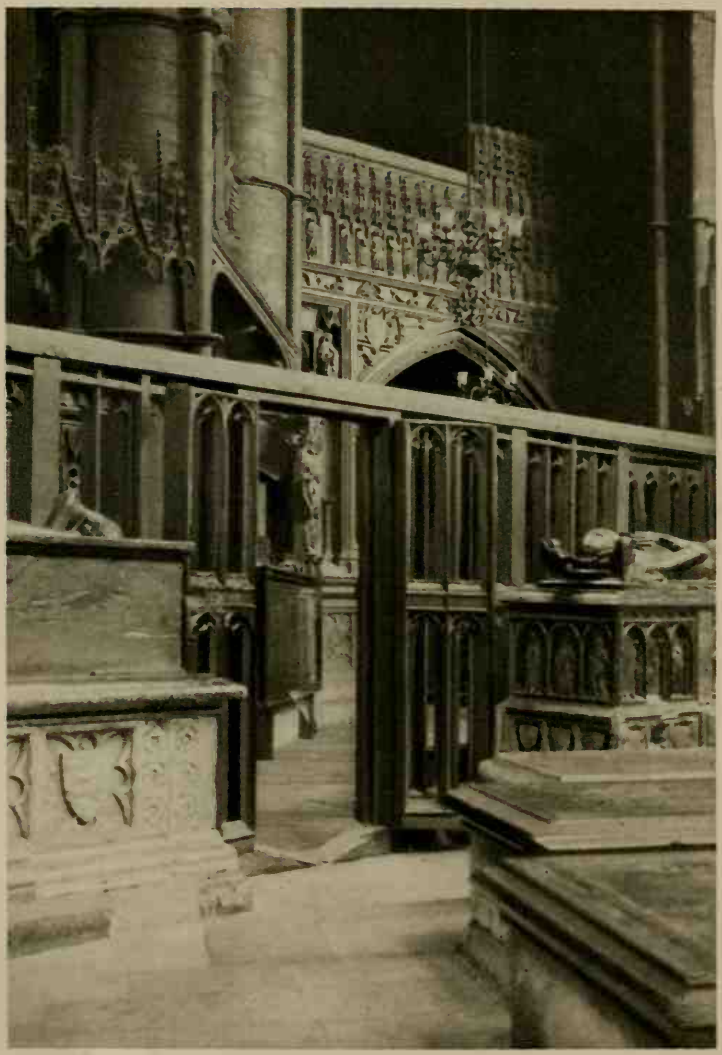

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Henry V.'s Chantry from the Chapel of St. Edmund.
The Canopy of Edward III.'s tomb appears on the left.

CATHEDRALS, ABBEYS
& FAMOUS CHURCHES
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WESTMINSTER ABBEY

& A SHORT ACCOUNT OF ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH, WESTMINSTER, LAMBETH CHURCH, CHELSEA OLD CHURCH & ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL AT WINDSOR

BY

BEATRICE HOME

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE series of volumes devoted to cathedrals, abbeys and famous churches to which this belongs has been produced on a plan which is somewhat novel. The writers have been encouraged to emphasise as far as possible the personal aspect of the buildings described, in order that those who visit them with the books as their guides may understand the human element behind the great architectural achievements. Not only has space been given to builders and benefactors, but biographical references are made to those who are buried within the churches. In this way the human equation is sufficiently prominent for those who are not well acquainted with architectural matters to become interested in the structures, quite apart from whether the style is appealing to their several tastes or whether they had previously felt any curiosity as to how or when changes took place in the vast buildings which resulted from the efforts of the mediæval builders.

Architectural description has been restricted to salient features, and where details are discussed it is because of their special interest. Mouldings and ornament generally are not described in detail, and ordinary features such as piscinæ, aumbries, stoups and so on,

which tend to make a book a mere inventory of church furniture, are as a rule ignored unless they are of particular interest.

It has been my object to illustrate the books without relying on any of the familiar series of professional photographs which, as a rule, give the least attractive aspects of the cathedrals, missing the effects of strong shadow and picturesque lighting, and the particularly pleasing glimpses obtained from aisles and the less hackneyed view-points.

To Mr. H. F. Westlake, custodian and minor canon of the abbey, who very kindly read the chapters of this book concerning Westminster, I am greatly indebted.

The pictorial summary of Romanesque and Gothic architecture inside the front cover, and the series of effigies given on the back end-paper, are designed to be useful as reminders of the dates of the architectural periods and of armour and the costume of women in the Middle Ages.

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WESTMINSTER ABBEY

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND GENESIS OF THE BUILDING

The threads of the history of Westminster Abbey are so closely interwoven with those of the English people, that it is impossible to dissociate them, and the two together weave a tapestried picture splendid in colour and majesty. So threadbare is the earliest part of this tapestry that the story it tells is difficult to distinguish, but as each succeeding century wove its portion, one is able to see more and more clearly the pageantry of the Court standing out against the duller hues of the monotonous lives led by the Benedictine brethren, until without a break it moves from the monastic system into the newer order which persists to-day.

Westminster Abbey stands pre-eminent among all the great churches in England, for while others such as York and Canterbury may exceed it in dimensions, although in regard to grandeur of situation it is easily surpassed by Durham and Lincoln, and while yet others claim an antiquity greater than the abbey

founded on Thorney Island, yet no one will seriously dispute the assertion that it is the premier historical monument in the country, on account of its unique position as the coronation-church of all the English monarchs save one since Harold, and as the favourite place of sepulture of the royal line until the XVIIIth century was half spent. Together with the ashes of sovereigns, it enshrines the remains of many of the noblest in our island's history, so that it has become an essential fact in the national life—truly the Valhalla of the British People.

Much uncertainty exists as to the earliest church which was built on the site. It is known that, in the early centuries of our era, the ground on which the monastery stood was virtually an island, raised very slightly above the marshes which extended from the Thames to what are now known as St. James's Park and Tothill Fields. This patch of land was known as Thorney Island. It had a length of nearly 500 feet, with a breadth of about 370, and was bounded by streams which had originally come from the high ground of Hampstead, and were offshoots of the Tyburn Brook. One stream, the Long Ditch, ran down Great Smith Street, while another followed the line of Great College Street, and was utilised to turn the abbot's mill. The island gained its name from the great thickets of thorn which flourished upon it, harbouring quite possibly the wild ox and great red deer. Legend says that a Temple of Apollo once stood there. But this story is unsupported by any shred of evidence. The discovery of a stone sarcophagus of the Romano-British period can at the most indicate that the island was used as a place of interment. This fine example

of a stone coffin was found on the north side of the abbey-church, and is inscribed: "Memoriae · Valer · Amandini · Valeri · Superventor · et · Marcellus · Patri · fecer." [1]

This Valerius Amandinus may have had his home on the island in the second century A.D., judging from the style of the lettering, or if the use of the name Valerius be taken into consideration, he may have lived about

ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS

Found on the north side of Westminster Abbey, and now in the entrance to the Chapter-House.

a century later. Fragments of Roman pottery have also been discovered on the site, from which it is possible to infer very little beyond the possibility of the existence of a few houses or perhaps a single farm or villa.

A ford across the Thames was located near the present Westminster Bridge up to a century ago, when the water was so clear that it is said that it was possible to see the bottom all the way across. This

[1] "To the memory of their father Valerius Amandinus this was made by Valerius Superventor and Marcellus."

was the point where a Romano-British road crossed the Thames, the only ford for several miles, and even after London Bridge was built, many travellers coming down Watling Street from the North, instead of turning off where the Marble Arch now stands to enter the city, preferred the less crowded way into Kent across the ford, even if it did entail the risk of a wetting!

A British king, named Lucius, reputed to have reigned in the second century A.D., was said to have been converted to Christianity, and to have built a Christian church upon the site of the Roman temple, but this story is obviously absurd, for there were no kings in Britain in the second century. However, there were none to question the statement put forward by the rulers of the monastery who wished to assign as early a foundation as possible to their house.

The second traditional founder of the abbey was Sebert, King of the East Saxons, whose tomb is in a recess in the south ambulatory of the abbey. He was not a mythical character like Lucius, but there is no proof that he had any connection with the founding of a church on Thorney Island beyond the imagination of the monkish chroniclers, who, as Richard Widmore (librarian of Westminster Abbey in 1750) writes, had strong reasons to induce them "not to be content with such an early foundation for this monastery as it actually had, but to assign to it the very earliest they could think of, and to make and invent histories for this purpose, a practice continued by their successors, who some time afterwards forged charters on a like occasion to support a claim to privilege and an exemption from episcopal supervision."

The miraculous story related by Sulcard, a monk at

Westminster in the XIth century, and the first historian of the abbey, of the consecration of Sebert's church must be briefly told, for upon it the abbey successfully based its opposition to the bishop's authority. In 616 the new church was awaiting consecration by Mellitus, Bishop of London. On the previous evening, which happened to be a Sunday, a fisherman, named Edric, was casting nets in the river; while thus occupied he heard a voice calling him from the Lambeth shore, and found a stranger waiting to be ferried across to Thorney Island. Edric landed him safely and watched him as he approached the new church, which presently, to his amazement, was illumined within; lights glowing from all the windows, while the air was filled with angelic voices and became bright with celestial splendour. Yet more wonderful, there appeared in the heavens a ladder up which angels were ascending and descending. Suddenly Edric discovered that the stranger was beside him telling him to inform Mellitus, the bishop, that he, St. Peter, had consecrated his own church himself. Then he bade the astounded fisherman to cast his nets again, when he would have a good haul of salmon, on condition that he never fished again on Sunday, and gave a tithe of salmon to the abbey. On the following day when Mellitus arrived with the king for the ceremonial consecration, they were met by the fisherman, holding a salmon, which he presented to the bishop, telling him the strange events of the night before, which the bishop could not fail to believe when he saw the marks of consecration on the walls.

On this monkish legend the abbey was able to base its demand for a tithe of the salmon which were

abundant in the Thames in the days of which William Morris wrote:

> Think rather of the pack-horse on the down,
> And dream of London, small and white and clean,
> The clear Thames bordered by its gardens green.

The question of this traditional church of the VIIth century has been very carefully considered by Mr. Westlake in his recent book on Westminster Abbey, which contains all the knowledge he has acquired of the inner life of the abbey from his position as custodian of the muniments. He thinks that the tradition recorded by Sulcard and Goscelin, who wrote almost a contemporary life of Bishop Mellitus, should be allowed some weight, and that there is the possibility of a Christian church having been erected on Thorney Island in the century which followed St. Augustine's arrival in England. There is also among the abbey archives a document, dated 693, recording a grant of land. Mr. Westlake regards this document as genuine, but the original names of grantor and grantee are erased. Only an endorsement on the back in a much later hand asserts that these are Agelric, Bishop of Dorchester, and the church of St. Peter at Westminster. This parchment was accepted as evidence of the abbey's rights over the lands granted.

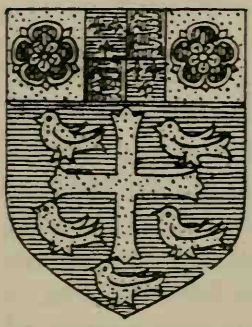
From legends one comes to solid fact with the charter, still to be seen in the Chapter-House at Westminster, in which Offa, King of Mercia, granted some land at Aldenham in Hertfordshire to the monastery on Thorney Island. "I have given to St. Peter and the Lord's people dwelling *in Torneia, in loco terribili, quod dicitur aet Vuestmunster.*" This charter is dated

785, when Offa was at the height of his power, and had made Mercia supreme over the neighbouring kingdoms.

The authenticity, of this charter has been questioned a good deal, but the weight of evidence seems in favour of its genuineness. The abbot, Ordbriht, is said to have given an armlet of gold to King Offa on receiving this grant of land. The charter is particularly interesting on account of the use of the name, "Westminster," by which the monastery has been known ever since, and also for the expression "in loco terribili," which has given rise to much conjecture. Dean Stanley considered it veritably meant "a terrible place," a wild spot, "entrenched, marsh within marsh, and forest within forest," and yet having the attraction of a "Thebaid, as contrasted with the stir and tumult of the neighbouring walled city of London." Another suggestion is that the words were intended to imply a sacred place, in the manner of Jacob when he referred to Bethel: "How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God." It has been pointed out that Thorney Island was scarcely a lonely and desolate place if close to an important ford just above London.

For over a hundred and fifty years we hear nothing more of Westminster until Dunstan, the great Abbot of Glastonbury, became Bishop of London in 959, and interested himself in the monastery at Westminster, which had suffered from the ravages of the Danes. He obtained a charter from King Edgar, and rebuilt the convent, to which it is said he brought twelve monks from Glastonbury. It was just at the beginning of the great onrush of monasticism which

was so soon to spread over England, and Churchmen were roused to great zeal by the spirit of reform emanating from the Abbey of Cluny. Wulsin was appointed the abbot, a post which he retained until (in 980) he was appointed Bishop of Sherborne; William of Malmesbury speaks of him as ex-abbot of Westminster.



THE ARMS OF THE SEE OF WESTMINSTER

From 1042, the year of Edward the Confessor's accession, the history of Westminster Abbey stands upon sure foundations. The king was welcomed by the people, who were eager to have upon the throne once more one of the royal line of Alfred, being weary of the misrule of Cnut's sons, who had wiped out the memory of the wisdom and justice with which their great father had governed. Although English by birth, Edward was French in feeling through his long exile in Normandy, and he loved to have round him his Norman friends whose language he used. When at last securely seated on his throne, he announced his desire to fulfil the vow he had taken many years before—to make a pilgrimage to Rome should he inherit his kingdom. The Witan remonstrated at his leaving the country, and the Pope absolved Edward from his vow on condition that he built a church to St. Peter. The monastery adjacent to the royal palace at Westminster, already dedicated to St. Peter, readily suggested itself as the suitable choice, and a legend has accordingly been supplied by which we are informed of the reason for the king's decision. It was to the effect that a monk at Worcester

received a vision in which St. Peter appeared to him and required him to tell the king that he wished the church which he had consecrated with his own hands to be restored, adorned with stately towers, and endowed with revenue.

In conformance with his promise, the Confessor began at once to build a new church on Thorney Island, leaving the old abbey buildings alongside for the use of the monks while the new church was being erected. Strongly imbued with Norman feeling, the king naturally sought an architect from the Duchy which had sheltered him during his youth. It is thought that the model for the church was taken from the abbey at Jumièges, whose splendid ruins still stand on the banks of the Seine. The abbot was the king's friend, following him to England, where he later became Archbishop of Canterbury. So the church was built in the "new kind," the first of the great buildings in the Norman Romanesque style which were soon to enrich the country, erected, as William of Malmesbury writes, "in the fashion which now all follow at great expense." The only representation of the church is to be found in the Bayeux tapestry, which shows a cruciform building with a central tower, and a metrical description of it in Norman-French, written just before its destruction by Henry III., gives some idea of its appearance:

> Now he laid the foundations of the church
> With large square blocks of great stone,
> Its foundations are deep;
> The front towards the east he makes round,
> The stones are very strong and hard.
> In the centre rises a tower,
> And two at the western front.

Of the stately Norman church erected by the Confessor nothing can be seen to-day above the surface of the ground, but portions of the domestic buildings of his abbey survive in the midst of the later additions adjoining the east side of the cloister. Under the pavement in the sanctuary it is possible to see bases of columns of the pre-Conquest building, and during various reconstructions the position of the original eastern apse has been determined.

Begun in 1050, the church was ready for consecration on Holy Innocents' Day, 28th December, 1065. The Confessor was then so ill that he was unable to be present. The solemn ceremony was performed in the presence of the queen, the Lady Edith, daughter of Earl Godwin, and all the nobles of the land. A few days afterwards the Confessor was dead, and his remains were placed in front of the high altar in the church which he had built with such enthusiasm, and to which his body was to bring so much veneration. Miracles were soon reported to have occurred at the tomb, and legends steadily grew up round the saintly king whose fits of wayward temper, which had alternated with periods of great piety, were soon forgotten. In English minds Edward represented the last of their royal race; one who had brought peace to the land, and whose gentleness and simple faith appealed with peculiar force to those suffering under the harsh hand of the new Norman rulers. Professor Freeman sums up judicially at a distance of many centuries: "The royal saint deemed himself set upon the throne, not to secure the welfare or the independence of his kingdom, but to build a church and endow a monastery in honour of the Prince of the Apostles." But the people

did not thus critically judge their weak but pious king, and we can but rejoice that the veneration with which he was regarded brought such rich gifts to the abbey, that though his own building has vanished, its successor, raised in his honour two centuries after his death, has come down to us intact from the past.

Three charters still exist purporting to be signed and sealed by King Edward himself, giving important privileges to the monastery, making it the coronation church for all future monarchs, and asserting the exemption of the monks from episcopal authority. For many centuries these charters were accepted as genuine, being brought into courts of law to prove the claims of the abbey, but to-day the evidence seems to be in favour of their being of a later date than that of the Confessor, though possibly they may be copies of the originals and not mere forgeries.

There is some uncertainty whether the whole church was finished in 1065. Sulcard, the Westminster monk who wrote only a few years after the death of the Confessor, says it was "finished to the very porch," but it is quite possible that the nave was completed under the Norman kings.

Harold, son of Earl Godwin and brother of Queen Edith, and to whom it is said the dying king had bequeathed his throne, was hastily crowned in the abbey-church on the same day as that which had witnessed the funeral of the Confessor, and thus began the first of that unbroken series of coronations ever since performed at Westminster.

Before the year had quite run its course another coronation was celebrated within the stately church.

William the Norman had determined to be crowned close to the burial-place of King Edward, whose throne he claimed by right of inheritance and not merely by that of force. The story of that Christmas Day coronation is an oft-told one. The shouts of acclamation within the church so alarmed the Norman soldiery outside that they began burning the gatehouse and the thatched houses adjoining, and the Conqueror was temporally left alone with the monks and clergy while his supporters rushed out to join in the fray. Aldred, the Archbishop of York, went on with the service, insisting upon the administration of the coronation oath before he put on the crown, while the roar of the tumult could be heard without and the flames of the fire were lighting up the walls.

Nearly a century after the death of the Confessor his canonisation was achieved. It had long been the desire of the monastery to possess a special saint who would bring peculiar glory and importance to Westminster, and in Abbot Laurence they found the man who was to provide this need. This capable and energetic ruler of the abbey, after having put his own house in order, sent an embassy to Rome to plead with the Pope to grant the desire of the monastery of St. Peter. Miracles were reputed to have taken place at the tomb, notably that of the Saxon bishop Wulstan, whose pastoral staff, when laid upon the burial-place, had stuck fast in the stone. Not one of the Norman bishops could remove the staff which Lanfranc had ordered Wulstan to resign because of his inability to speak French. This sign of the saintly king's power so impressed all present that Lanfranc acknowledged the suitability of the holy Wulstan for his post and

ordered the good bishop to take again his staff, which at his approach sprang to his hand.

Edward's canonisation was secured in 1161, and two years later, on 13th October, the body of the Confessor was removed to a gorgeous shrine in the presence of Henry II. and the archbishop, Thomas Becket. In 1098, when the coffin had been opened in order to settle a dispute, it was discovered[1] that the body had not crumbled, but was sound and flexible, the flesh white and firm, and the beard gleaming like frost. It is conjectured that the new shrine was behind the high altar, and that by this time an ambulatory had been built with radiating chapels beyond the original apse.

Abbot Laurence was not content with having obtained the signal victory of the canonisation of the founder of the church, but he continued to plead with the Pope for the coveted distinction of the mitre, ring and gloves. The Pope's consent was obtained, but too late for Laurence to use these symbols of greatness, for he had died early in 1175, before the news reached the monastery, and consequently his effigy under the stone bench in the south cloister walk bears no mitre.

The long reign of Henry III. was a momentous one for the abbey. The king whose misrule forced the House of Commons into being, and whose weakness was destructive politically, was, by his keen appreciation of the arts and his love of building, the sovereign to whom the country owes much, particularly in the great historical monument of Westminster Abbey, which is attributable to his energy and enthusiasm. Henry was the first of the Angevin kings to live in

[1] Ailred of Rievaulx.

THE EFFIGY OF HENRY III. ON HIS GORGEOUS TOMB IN ST. EDWARD'S CHAPEL.

England rather than in his continental dominions. To his children he gave English names; but his marriage with a French princess, Eleanor of Provence, and his preference for court officials who were not of English birth did not increase his popularity. No doubt Henry found his continental courtiers had more understanding in matters of the arts which so absorbed him. The Provençal relatives of the queen brought with them the knowledge of the arts, the poetry and refinement of the south, and encouraged the king in his passion for all kinds of beautiful things, for jewels, pictures, plate, and tapestries. Building in the new Gothic style became a passion with the king, who did not content himself with his ambitious project at Westminster, but carried out great works both at Windsor and Winchester. In modern days Henry would have been known as one of the great art collectors of the world, and one of the leading patrons of art, for we find him employing all the chief workmen and artists, ordering vestments, "the most beauti-

ful ever seen," and purchasing jewels and relics. His reign, futile and dreary on its political side, witnessed an extraordinary revival of religious and intellectual life, the development of the first great period of Gothic art, and an awakening interest in all forms of knowledge.

At Westminster the new movement was felt in a desire for a Lady Chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary, whose worship was then becoming emphasised. Four years after Henry, when still a boy, had succeeded to the troubled throne of his father, the foundation-stone of a new chapel, to the east of the Confessor's church, was laid, on the vigil of the Feast of Pentecost and the eve of the young king's second coronation, his first having taken place hurriedly at Gloucester. This chapel was due to the initiative of Abbot William Humez, and was paid for by the abbey and gifts from outside. It was not a royal offering, though Henry did bestow upon it the gilt spurs used at his coronation, and made various donations. Humez died in 1222, two years after the foundation of the chapel, whose building was carried on enthusiastically by his successor, Abbot Richard de Berkyng. After ruling the abbey for twenty-four years de Berkyng died and was buried in the new chapel. His splendid tomb was pulled down about a century and a half later by the sacrist of that day, and when Henry VII.'s Chapel was replacing the earlier one so largely due to de Berkyng's energies the abbot's body was removed, and now lies near the steps leading to the elaborate chapel erected by the first of the Tudor monarchs. Excluding the aisles, Berkyng's Lady Chapel was the same width as Henry VII.'s new structure, and it stood for nearly three centuries.

Henry III. had a very great reverence for St.

Edward the Confessor, in whose honour he determined to rebuild the entire church in which the body of the saint lay, and thus provide for it a more glorious shrine. Fired with enthusiasm, probably by having seen the Gothic churches springing up in France, especially the noble cathedral of Rheims, whose choir was consecrated in 1241, he began to pull down the east end of the Confessor's Norman building, which can scarcely have been "consumed with excessive age," as Pope Innocent IV. describes it in his bull of 1245, nor can it have been dangerously decayed, for it had not yet completed the second century of its existence and the nave stood for another hundred years and more, and then was so strong that, like that of St. Paul's, it was hard to pull down. The work, which started in 1245, began at the east end just west of the new Lady Chapel, which the monks continued to use during the rebuilding. It was pushed on as rapidly as possible, and the first service was sung in the new choir on 13th October, 1269 when the body of the Confessor was translated into the magnificent shrine whose mutilated structure exists to-day.

Abbot Berkyng had died the year after the rebuilding of the church had begun. He had been high in favour with his royal master, who had appointed him as guardian of the realm during his absence in Wales, but he had had stormy times with the City of London, on one occasion being stoned by the mob. The quarrel had arisen over certain sports in which the Westminster men had been beaten, on which a second contest had been arranged, when Westminster, determined not to be outdone, attended the sports armed, and in consequence a conflict occurred. The

city took revenge and attempted to attack the abbey, for which rashness the leaders received dire punishment at the hands of Hubert de Burgh.

The abbey, "the most lovely and lovable thing in Christendom," is essentially the work of Henry III., who at his death in 1272 had seen the whole of the eastern part, consisting of choir and chapels, transepts and two bays of the nave, completed. We who to-day pass through the aisles and look upon the stately arcades of pointed arches, supported by clustered pillars carrying the eye upwards to the shadowy spaces of the vaulted roof, are seeing the same glorious structure which rejoiced the eyes of the royal artist to whom we owe the noble conception.

The plan of the great abbey-church is claimed to be French after the model of Rheims, and the chief mason, Master Henry, who received his gown of office as Master of the King's Masons in 1243, is asserted to have been a Frenchman. Mr. Lethaby, however, insists that his name was English, and having no other territorial name, he was probably a Londoner; but Mr. Bond is equally certain that no Englishman, even if he had studied abroad, could have designed the building, while Sir Gilbert Scott considered that because the plan was French and the detail English, the architect must have been an Englishman who had studied the new Gothic style in France. But as we know from Mr. Westlake's valuable volumes that Master Henry had died, or at any rate had been succeeded by John of Gloucester, an undoubted Englishman, in 1254, at the moment when the building would be reaching the period when close attention to the details of enrichment would become neces-

sary, it seems probable that Master Henry was a Frenchman imported by the king as understanding the ideas of the aspiring new style. The resemblance to Rheims and French cathedrals is shown in the radiating chapels, the great height of the roof, the rose windows of the transepts, the wall passage which runs all round the building and the windows generally. Master Henry found his task complicated by the Norman cloister, which forced him to build the south aisle of the south transept over part of the east walk, and the recently built Lady Chapel marked out the eastward limits. The king pressed on the work, making an arrangement with the workmen, who were interrupted by numerous feast days, that they should work on alternate festivals; the account rolls enumerating these occasions as they occur, as those of the king or the masons. The funds necessary for this vast building were procured by the king, regardless of the complaints of the people at his incessant demands for more money. He even robbed other abbeys in order to enrich his favourite monastery, and plundered the Jews of great sums, besides setting up fairs in Westminster for the benefit of the abbey, greatly to the wrath of the citizens, who were not allowed to open any shops, being obliged to buy at the officially-established booths in Tothill Fields.

When Henry III. died in 1272 he had seen the building of the greater part of the abbey that we know to-day, with the exception of Henry VII.'s Chapel and about two-thirds of the nave. For nearly a century the great church must have presented a rather curious appearance, with the surviving portion of the Norman nave of the Confessor's church abruptly joined to the new Gothic structure.

The splendid munificence of Henry III. towards the monastery was not continued by his immediate successors, for his son, Edward I., who brought the sacred stone of Scone to Westminster and placed it in the Coronation Chair, was preoccupied with strenuous and costly campaigns in Wales and Scotland, for which he needed all the funds which he could obtain, and Edward II.'s troubled reign brought no assistance to the monastic exchequer. A disastrous fire in 1298, caused by a spark from the neighbouring palace chimneys, burnt nearly all the conventual buildings, including the dormitory, infirmary, refectory and part of the cloisters, but mercifully the church and chapter-house escaped damage. The monks were housed in a temporary fashion for many years, for the abbey's funds were too low to provide for the expense of rebuilding.

To add to the troubles of the monastery, the whole community fell under the grave displeasure of the king (Edward I.) owing to the robbery of the entire royal treasury, which was kept in the very solidly-built crypt under the chapter-house. In 1303, when King Edward was in Scotland, news was brought to him that the treasury had been broken into and that the large store of money and treasure collected for the Scottish war had been stolen. The king's wrath was naturally great against the abbot and the monks for this neglect, and the whole body of brethren, including Abbot Wenlock himself, were sent to the Tower. It was eventually proved that a certain Richard de Podelicote, who had previously stolen the silver plate of the refectory, was the chief culprit, but it was obvious that the prolonged task of digging into the

crypt could not have been carried out without the connivance of someone inside the monastery. The sub-prior, Alexander de Pershore, and the sacrist, Adam de Warfield, fell under the deepest suspicion of taking part in the plot, the former being accused of receiving a share of the spoils, while the sacrist, who had charge of the key of the monks' cemetery adjoining the chapter-house, had refused admission to the gardener in order that a tall crop of hemp which hid the operations of the thieves might remain uncut. Ten of the monks were kept prisoners for over two years, Podelicote was hanged, but Abbot Wenlock and the other brethren were released, and it must be supposed that eventually the king pardoned the brethren in the Tower, who were allowed to rejoin their fraternity. The twenty-four years of Abbot Wenlock's reign seem to have been singularly unfortunate—for in addition to the affair of the treasury the abbey suffered from the quarrelsome disposition of its head, who was unable to maintain order among the monks, whose respect and affection he was incapable of winning.

The Black Death which swept over England in 1348 paid no regard to the high walls of the monastery. Twenty-six of the brethren died, including the abbot, Simon de Bercheston, who died at Hampstead. His successor was Simon Langham, one of the most capable of the long list of abbots. Owing to the poverty of the monastery he was, however, obliged to abandon his ambitious project of rebuilding the remainder of the nave in the same style as the rest of the church. He was only able to finish part of the cloister before he was made Bishop of Ely in 1362, but he never lost interest

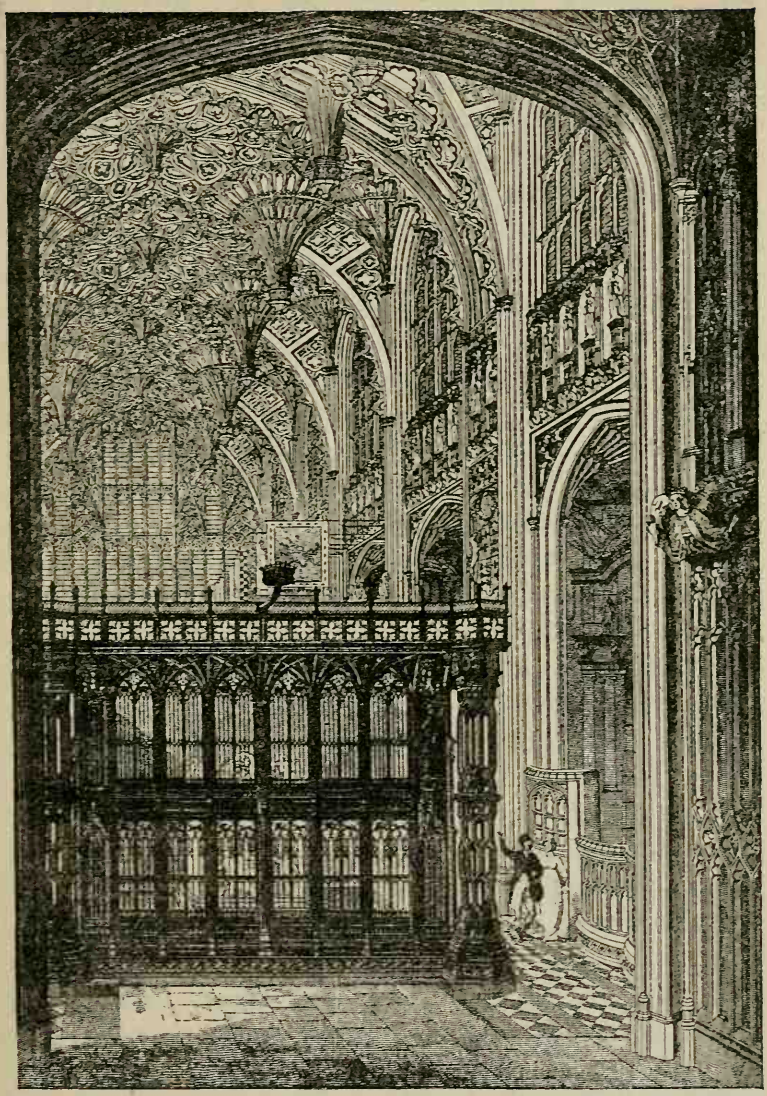
in the abbey, and at his death bequeathed a large fortune to be devoted to the completion of the nave. The economy which he had forced upon the monks in order to get the finances of the house on to a sound basis caused him to be so heartily disliked that, in the words of Dean Stanley, his "departure from each successive office (from Westminster to Ely, and from Ely to Canterbury) was hailed with joy by those he left, and with dread by those he joined." Probably the monks preferred their new abbot, Nicholas de Litlyngton, who rebuilt the monastic dwellings and thought more of their personal comfort; but he was also stirred into activity over the nave by the exigency of Langham, who had become a cardinal in 1368, and who promised to aid with money. Thus the remaining bays of the Norman nave were at last pulled down, and in 1376 the first stone of the reconstruction was laid.

Richard II. showed great interest in the abbey, and gave large endowments when his deeply-loved wife, Anne of Bohemia, was buried in the Confessor's Chapel. Henry V. also became a benefactor, electing to be buried in the abbey under the beautiful chantry erected at the eastern end of the sacred chapel. Edward IV., who had cause for gratitude to the abbey, which had sheltered his queen during the Wars of the Roses and had been the birthplace of his eldest son, assisted the rebuilding with the grant of oaks for the roof. But it was not until the rule of John Islip, the last great abbot, that the nave was completed, and even at his death the west end was still unfinished, the two towers having only reached half their projected height.

During Islip's abbacy the Lady Chapel of Abbot

Humez was pulled down, and Henry VII.'s marvellous new chapel was erected. With this great achievement the rebuilding of the abbey-church ceased; for with the death of Islip, "a devout servant of God and of a wakeful conscience," the old order changed, his funeral being said to be "the funeral of the Middle Ages." He died on the eve of the Dissolution, his successor, Abbot Boston, handing over the abbey and all it possessed to the king in 1540. The "voluntary" deed, as it has been called, was signed by the abbot and monks on January the 16th, and is still among the abbey archives. It is said that the change effected so quickly had been long expected, but there is little hint of the great break-up of the cloistered life in the rolls of Abbot Islip, in whose time the monastery was occupied with rebuilding on a great scale, and the whole régime in the efficient hands of the abbot seemed peculiarly prosperous.

The last abbot was rewarded for his submission to the royal will with the office of dean of the new cathedral, which the abbey became under the order of Henry VIII. The first and only Bishop of Westminster, Thomas Thirleby, was appointed in 1540, his see being the whole of Middlesex with the exception of Fulham. He resided in the abbot's house, the dean (the late abbot) occupying that of the prior, which overlooked the monastery garden. Some of the monks had become canons, while the others were compensated by the grant of small pensions. During the reign of Henry VIII. masses were still said daily in the "cathedral," but with the coming of the strict Protestantism of Edward VI. and his council the whole service was altered, the gorgeous vestments being



HENRY VII.'S OR THE LADY CHAPEL OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY
In the foreground is the tomb of the founder within massive bronze railings.

replaced by black gowns, the mass-books—"books of superstition"—were defaced and removed, copes carried off, and the rich plate robbed by the commissioners, who did not think the clergy or the church any longer required it. Bishop Thirleby resigned the See of Westminster in 1550 to become Bishop of Norwich, and the short-lived bishopric of Westminster was then suppressed, though the abbey still remained a cathedral-church under the Bishop of London.

Lord Protector Somerset must be regarded by all lovers of the abbey as one of its worst enemies, for he is credited with having had the intention of pulling down the whole edifice, in order to provide stone for the building of Somerset House in the Strand.

The most eventful period of the abbey's later history occurred in the eighteen years between the Dissolution in 1540 and the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when its settled career as a collegiate church came into existence. Scarcely had the dean and canons become accustomed to the new order when Queen Mary Tudor ascended the throne and set about the restoration of the old form of religion, the Roman ritual rapidly taking its former place, the dean and canons being removed from the abbey to make way for the return of Benedictine monks. John Feckenham, who had been the queen's confessor and who had tried to convert Lady Jane Grey, became the abbot of the revived monastery, bringing with him such monks as could be found "unaltered in their opinions." Described as "a short man of a round visage, affable and pleasant," Feckenham was a worthy successor of the best of the abbots, showing such moderation and tolerance in the days of his power

that it is stated that Queen Elizabeth offered him the See of Canterbury if he would acknowledge her supremacy. But Feckenham remained loyal to his faith, and continued for a time in honourable confinement in the Tower, and afterwards under the Dean of Westminster and the Bishop of Winchester, until his death in Wisbech Castle in 1584.

Under Queen Elizabeth the monastic life of the abbey finally ended, for she reconstituted it as the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, providing for a dean and twelve prebends. The school also, which had had its origin in the cloister under the monastic rule, was continued after the Dissolution and established under Elizabeth, who wished that "the youth, who in the stock of our republic, like certain tender twigs, daily increase, may be liberally trained up in useful letters to the greater ornament of the republic." Under Gabriel Goodman, who became dean in 1561, the Protestant order of service was fully instituted, the stone altars were destroyed and the copes transformed into canopies.

One of the most remarkable of the deans was John Williams, who was a favourite of James I. and held high office, being not only Dean of Westminster but Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the same time. He excused this multiplication of offices on the ground that the revenues of Lincoln were small, and that he needed a residence near the royal palace for the discharge of his duties as Lord Keeper, and that Westminster gave him cheap and convenient lodging. He was certainly an extraordinary man, full of vitality, very fond of music, which he encouraged in the abbey, using some of his wealth

to restore the church, founding the chapter library in part of the old dormitory, finding time to be keenly interested in the school, and also for the work of a diocese and that of Lord Keeper, being the last churchman to hold that office. Under Charles I., who cordially disliked him, mainly on account of his disagreement with the methods of Archbishop Laud, he twice suffered imprisonment in the Tower; and at the outbreak of the Civil War he retired to Wales, his native country, supporting the king's cause until after Naseby, when he came to terms with the Parliament, and lived in peace and wealth till his death in 1650.

With the departure of King Charles from London and the setting up of his standard at Nottingham, the abbey experienced another crisis only second in importance to the Dissolution, just a century earlier.

The Parliament busied itself throughout the year 1643 in setting up committees, whose business it was to root out all idolatrous practices which had crept into the services, and to demolish monuments of superstition. All the plate and money found in the precincts was removed for the use of Parliament, and in 1644 the regular daily services were stopped and Presbyterian ministers appointed to preach for half an hour instead. The greatest affront which the abbey suffered was the destruction of the beautiful Renaissance altar by Torrigiano, erected as a memorial for the young Protestant king, Edward VI. The assembly of divines to revise the whole government of the Church of England met in the abbey in 1645, sitting apparently in Henry VII.'s Chapel throughout the summer months until the coming of the cold of autumn sent them to the greater comfort of the

Jerusalem Chamber. Here they laboured for many years, producing as the result the Longer and the Shorter Catechisms and the Westminster Confession of Faith.

The Restoration in 1660 removed the Presbyterian ministers and the committee and brought back the dean and college, which has continued to the present time without further interruption. By the end of the XVIIIth century the use of "sea-coal" had so destroyed the stone of the fabric that Sir Christopher Wren was appointed to superintend the restoration. He carried out work on the south side and gave a very detailed account of all that remained to be done on the north, stating that most of the money would be required for the north transept and the great rose window there. The western towers, commonly called the Wren Towers, were completed in 1740, from a design left by the great architect, carried out with considerable variations by Nicholas Hawksmoor, his pupil.

Henry VII.'s Chapel, which had not been touched by Wren, was completely refaced by the architect James Wyatt in 1807, and in 1876 the north front was rebuilt after the designs of Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. G. H. Pearson, a work which lasted until 1890 and was the cause of much criticism, the particulars of which will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Ever since Edward the Confessor built the great Norman church for the abbey he loved, the coronation ceremonies of the monarchs have bever failed to be performed within its historic walls; Normans, Plantagenets, Tudors, Stuarts, and Hanoverians all received the crown near the Confessor's shrine, though the building he erected has been replaced by another.

The XIXth century saw three coronations before the first four decades had passed, the crowning of the young queen, Victoria, in 1837 bringing the hope of a new era. It was not till the opening of the next century that the coronation regalia was again required, when in 1901 Edward VII. was crowned after his recovery from a serious illness which had caused the postponement of the ceremony. But never in the long course of its history has the abbey-church witnessed such great and glorious occasions as those of the XXth century, which has already in its first quarter seen two coronations, three royal weddings, and that wonderful service, so pregnant with the pent-up feelings of the nation, when the Unknown Warrior, a soldier of the Great European War, undistinguished by name or rank, was laid among the greatest and noblest of the land.

And still history rolls on and great scenes are enacted in the venerable building, every succeeding year adding some future memory which enhances the splendour of its tapestried story.

G. H.

THE WESTERN TOWERS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Viewed from Dean's Yard, this aspect of the abbey is surprisingly suggestive of the close of a small cathedral town.

The upper portions of the towers date from about 1740, and were probably designed by Wren's pupil, Nicholas Hawksmoor.

CHAPTER II

THE EXTERIOR

It is not unusual to hear expressions of dissatisfaction with the exterior of Westminster Abbey and complaints as to the meanness of the western end, the lack of a fine central tower and the insignificance of its position, for the great church is dwarfed by neighbouring buildings and it is closely approached by busy traffic instead of enjoying the serenity and dignified repose of a cathedral close. But while one may admit that the exterior is in no way comparable to the exquisite beauty of the interior, yet one must be hard to please who can see no loveliness in the abbey on a winter's morning, when the sun, still low in the heavens, is sending a smother of misty gold over the grey silhouette of the great Gothic church. To the real lover of the abbey it is always impressive, whether seen on a rainy day, when the dark sullen clouds are hanging low above it, and towers and flying buttresses are little darker in hue than the stormy sky; or as evening gathers, and it stands a mysterious, stately guardian of the treasures of the past, while the hurrying traffic changes from drabness to sparkling brilliance, flashing golden trails upon the shining street.

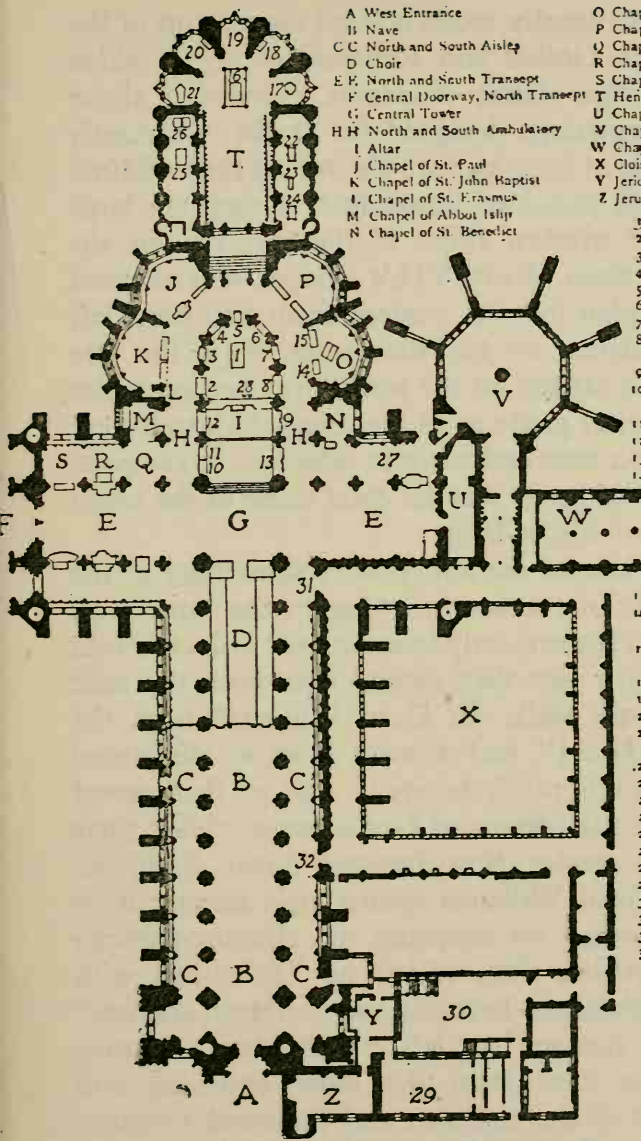
Details may displease, and it is infinitely regretful that the smoke-laden atmosphere has necessitated the

complete renewal of all the outer stonework, yet the abbey as it stands to-day is a monument of which England has every cause to be proud, and a splendid memorial of the great building energy of Henry III.

Of the Saxon church which once stood upon the site not a trace remains, nor can anything be seen externally of the Norman building erected by the Confessor. In its general design the church is XIIIth-century Gothic, though the western end of the nave was not completed until early in the XVIth century. Henry III. at his death in 1272 had seen the eastern end of the church finished and part of the nave, but this Gothic work remained attached to the Confessor's Norman nave for over a century until it was at last pulled down and the nave continued in the same style as the earlier part.

Unfortunately the western towers had not been completed when the Reformation caused all building operations to cease. Sir Christopher Wren, on becoming surveyor of the abbey in 1698, made a careful examination, discovering that the gable end was only covered with weather-boarding. The towers, usually associated with the name of Wren, were not erected until after his death, and were more probably the work of his pupil, Nicholas Hawksmoor, who succeeded him as surveyor-general of the abbey; though even of this there is no absolute certainty, for Hawksmoor died in 1736, and the completion of the towers was apparently undertaken about 1740.

The west front cannot be compared with those of the majority of the great cathedrals, or even with the west end of an abbey-church such as Tewkesbury, for it is entirely without originality or distinction, and



PLAN OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

the towers are usually much abused on account of the medley of the Gothic and Renaissance styles which they reveal. The classic ornament introduced above the circular openings designed for clocks is certainly very much out of keeping with the rest of the building. The porch has remained untouched, though the large Perpendicular window above it, the only one in the church apart from Henry VII.'s Chapel, was restored in 1735. No plan for this western front had been left by Master Henry or his successors, thus the late architects who carried on the work, over two centuries later, without any guide as to the original scheme were free to design a west end without reference to the past. Probably lack of funds was the chief cause of the mean achievement of Abbot Islip.

The north side of the abbey lacks something of the impressiveness of the south, owing to the buttresses, so important a feature, only spanning the aisle, whereas on the southern face they extend over both the aisle and the cloister walk. In Dean Williams' time the effect of "sea-coal" had already been so disastrous that the stone was much decayed, "and all that passed by, and loved the honour of God's house, shook their heads at the stones that dropped down from the pinnacles." Dean Williams spent large sums out of his private fortune on repairing the church, particularly the northern side, which he "re-edified with durable materials, and beautified with elegant statues."

The north transept as left by the XIIIth-century builders must have been the most imposing and beautiful part of the exterior, and the main entrance into the abbey-church. Richard II. added an outer, or "galilee," porch, which existed until nearly the

ONE OF THE BEAUTIFUL PENDANT BOSSES OF THE ROOF OF THE LADY CHAPEL OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

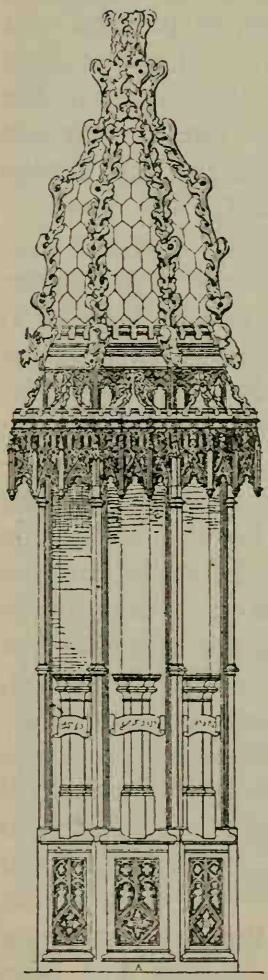
It was with remarkable engineering skill that these massive stones were suspended in the air.

Of all the Late Perpendicular achievements in roof building this is the most daring and bewilderingly impressive to the eye.

From a drawing by F. Mackenzie published in 1807.

close of the XVIIth century, being removed shortly before 1685. A large sacristy, whose main purpose was to hold the treasures of the abbey such as were used for the daily services, used to stand in the angle formed by the north transept and the nave, but not a trace of this now remains. Wren found the north transept in great need of repair, and drew up a design for the necessary work to be done. He was then advanced in years, and Dickinson, who was surveyor under him, was doubtless responsible for some of the detail. A careful drawing of the north front as it existed before 1713 remains to-day, with a covering sheet over it showing the proposed alterations signed by Wren, "I doe approve of this design, 1719." In 1884 Wren's work was again restored, the task being undertaken first by Sir Gilbert Scott and after his death by Pearson. Under the cover of a high boarded scaffolding the north front was very largely altered to suit the particular caprice of the architects, who fondly imagined that they were reviving the glory of the building as left by Henry VII. Their action, however, raised a storm of protest. The front as restored by Wren had retained much of the original. "The smile of the old work," writes Mr. Lethaby, "shone as it were through an ungraceful veil, and the whole front still preserved a certain lightness and spring," but he ruefully complains that "when the close screen which concealed the progress of the last restoration was removed it was found that all this had been swept away, together with Wren's work. All was new."

The rebuilt north front, or Solomon's Porch, as it has for long been called, is already blackened and its recent stonework is already causing anxiety.



TURRET AT THE SOUTH-EAST ANGLE OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL.

It has three doors, each with its own porch. The central one is richly sculptured, having a figure of our Lord in the tympanum, the Twelve Apostles below, and in a frieze above the doorways are symbolical figures representing the great professions.

Beyond the apsidal east end of the abbey-church, with its chevet of chapels, stands Henry VII.'s Chapel, built with all the richness of which the Late Perpendicular style was capable. Every portion of the external walls is almost as richly decorated as the interior. All the wall surface between the windows is panelled and adorned with Tudor badges of rose, portcullis and fleur-de-lis. Even the flying buttresses are pierced and crocketed with quaintly sculptured animals, and terminate in octagonal pinnacles or turrets having canopied niches for figures of saints. Along the roof-line runs an open parapet with crocketed pinnacles corresponding with the buttresses below. England can boast of no other building so rich in exterior decoration as this chapel, raised without consideration of expense, by one of the

most frugal of our monarchs. The stonework has been restored many times, for the elaborate ornament presents many surfaces for the impure air of London to attack, and there are few years when workmen are not employed upon the roof or walls. It was not so a century ago, when Mr. Henry Mogford, F.S.A., was a boy, for he and his school-fellows were able (as he stated in a lecture in 1856) to climb up the outside of the chapel by the waterpipes and pick pieces of stained glass from the windows! Wyatt was the first to be called upon to reface the chapel, which he did in his usual drastic manner between the years 1807–1822; and to-day, over a hundred years later, scaffolding is again hiding the southern side, and new stone is being inserted where the old is utterly destroyed. It has become sadly true that the exterior of the whole church, through its numerous restorations, has become a "copy, not by any means too faithful, of the original."

It is not quite certain whether a central tower over the crossing was ever intended. It was never carried much above its present height. Sir Christopher Wren was anxious to continue the tower upwards and to add a spire, which he considered to have been the intention of the original builders. He wrote that "in all Gothic fabrics of this form the architects were wont to build towers or steeples in the middle, not only for ornament, but to confirm the middle pillars against the thrust of several rows of arches which force against them every way." When some houses in Great George Street were removed some years ago, and a better view of the abbey was obtained from Whitehall, there was some clamour that the central tower should be completed, but luckily nothing came of the scheme, and

we still see the same outline of the abbey-church as it was known to our forefathers from the days of Henry VII., with the exception of the western towers, whose addition has given little satisfaction.

Before entering the abbey it is well to walk into Dean's Yard, where, from the south-western corner, one obtains a beautiful view of the whole length of the nave, with the grey towers at the western end, the unfinished central tower and the roof-line of the south transept rising above the trees, a serene and dignified mass contrasted with the pearly greys of a London sky.

CHAPTER III

THE INTERIOR

Oft let me range the gloomy aisles alone,
Sad luxury! to vulgar minds unknown,
Along the walls where speaking marbles show
What worthies form the hallow'd mould below;
Proud names, who once the reins of empire held;
In arms who triumph'd; or in arts excell'd;
Chiefs, grac'd with scars, and prodigal of blood;
Stern patriots, who for sacred freedom stood;
Just men, by whom impartial laws were given,
And saints who taught, and led, the way to Heaven!

THOMAS TICKELL (1686–1740).

There are four ways of entering Westminster Abbey—by the great north doorway, which is the most customary; by the west door, which is not usually open; by the small door in the south transept leading into what is known as the Poets' Corner, and from the cloister into the south aisle. For seeing the nave in all its splendour and beauty, however, one should certainly try to approach by the west door, from whence the whole length, with the majestic avenue of towering columns, can be viewed in its full glory. Those who have the privilege of living in Westminster never enter by Solomon's Porch, but always use the doors leading from the cloisters, and thus avoid the recent commemorative statues which detract so much from the beauty of the north transept. There are few

naves more impressive than Westminster, the soaring height of the vaulted roof, the grace of line everywhere, the beauty of the Early English triforium, and the combined lightness and strength of the clustered columns, giving a sense of perfect proportion. The passing centuries have added a richness of colour to the stone which at times gives to the pillars the appearance of having been cast in bronze, gleaming as if outlined with gold when the misty sunlight glances upon them. At night, when only the watchman guards the silent abbey and all is dark save for the lights of Parliament Square, which can be faintly seen through the stained glass, the sense of height in the nave is tremendous, almost illimitable, as if the arches were striving to support the very dome of heaven.

When the architecture is more closely studied, one is struck with the loveliness of the triforium which goes back to the full width of the aisles, and is continuous throughout the whole building, a feature which was also found in the Norman church of the Confessor.

It is organised in bays corresponding to those of the main arcade, and each bay comprises twin openings of unsurpassed loveliness.

Every opening is in its turn subdivided into two trefoil-headed apertures separated by a pair of plain shafts, placed laterally, as in the infirmary cloister at Canterbury and in some of the famous cloisters of Southern France, from which the inspiration of the design was doubtless drawn. The shafts have plain moulded capitals, and bases of very chaste design. Of the main arches some are simply moulded, while others are enriched with delicately undercut bands of sculpture. The heads are filled with cinquefoils, and

the spandrels covered with a variegated diapering similar to that which is found throughout the building of Henry III.—that is, to half-way down the nave.

Above the triforium is the lofty clerestory, remarkable for the great size of its admirably designed three-light Early English windows. All were at one time filled with beautiful stained glass, which has been destroyed except for some fragments which have been put together in the windows of the western towers, where one can see a figure (in the north-west tower) which may perhaps represent Edward the Confessor. It seems evident that Richard II. and later benefactors presented stained glass, one subject showing the incident of the Confessor giving his ring to a pilgrim. For many years after their destruction the windows were filled with plain glass, but recently they have been enriched with modern glazing, that in the north aisle representing a series of the Plantagenet kings with the contemporary abbots being placed there in memory of famous engineers.

The great west window, erected as late as the reign of Henry VI. in the Perpendicular style, is filled with glass of the time of George II., depicting a great array of prophets. The beautiful Early English arcading which runs round the aisle walls is seldom noticed owing to the barbarous manner in which it has been mutilated or masked by the insertion of XVIIIth-century monuments, many of them entirely inappropriate to their setting.

The remarkable fact to be remembered concerning the architectural history of the nave is that, while the six western bays were not completed until more than two centuries after the death of Henry III., who had begun

the eastern end (the first five bays, according to Sir Gilbert Scott, belong to his time or that of Edward I., his son), yet the whole nave is of one period in style. The mediæval architect seldom restricted himself in such a manner,[1] usually preferring to build in the newest style, however marked might be the difference from the earlier part of the edifice; but Abbot Langham, whose private fortune so largely assisted in the rebuilding of the nave, seems to have insisted on the carrying out of the original design with modifications in detail which can be instantly observed if one looks for them.

The work proceeded slowly from 1376, when Abbot Litlyngton began to replace the Norman bays, to the time of Abbot Islip (1500–1532), who saw the final completion a century and a half later. This rate of progress was amazingly tardy in comparison with the achievement of Henry III., who had in less than twenty-five years seen the whole of the eastern end and transepts finished. There were various causes for the slowness of the later work, among them lack of royal interest, scarcity of money, slackness of abbots, who cared little for the work, but from the day when Abbot Thomas Millyng took control of the abbey in 1469 progress was steady. Finally, in 1506 the nave was complete. It now consisted of eleven of the most graceful bays to be found among the cathedrals and abbeys in England, and these lovely arcades remain to this day the precious possession of the whole English-speaking race. The most immediately obvious differ-

[1] [One notable exception is Exeter Cathedral, where successive bishops faithfully carried out a single design throughout a century.—Ed.]

G. H.

THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Viewed from the west end and showing in the foreground the tomb-slab of "The Unknown Warrior" of the World War of 1914–18. The difference between the fourth and fifth columns shows the eastward limit of the Perpendicular builders.

ence between the later and the earlier work is the omission of the enrichment of diaper work in the spandrels, which seems to have been a gift to England of the magnificent, though much-hated, Provençal friends of Henry III. The work of the first master-mason stopped at the crossing, the diaper work was continued four bays beyond—that is, five bays from the tower piers—showing that the original scheme of decoration was still being followed. In other respects, however, there were marked differences of detail. King Henry's first bay has a core with four shaft-like projections and four detached shafts of Purbeck marble, with two continuous collars encircling the entire piers. The next four, namely those of the choir and one bay beyond the screen, have the same form of pier and similar bases, but instead of the continuous collar there are narrow separate bands to each shaft and quasi-shaft. These are of a very slight order, so half-hearted indeed that at a distance they are only just apparent. The next five pairs to the west as far as the narthex are only superficially similar, being built-up imitations with no detached shafts, but with a return to the strongly-marked continuous collaring of the eastern-most pillars. In regard to the bases the difference in design is equally marked. Farthest to the east there is a square chamfered base with mouldings having Romanesque affinities; those immediately west of the crossing are more perfectly octagonal, their mouldings showing distinctly Early English characteristics. The ten bases of the xvth-century extension are definitely Perpendicular—no trace of the Decorated style is to be found in the nave.

Even the arch mouldings vary as one proceeds

westward, and those of the Perpendicular period have their members arranged in groups to follow the line of the quasi-shafts.

Finally, the vaulting shafts are arranged differently in each of these three sections; in the first Henrican portion they spring from the capitals of the piers. In the second portion, built when the second master-builder had presumably assumed control, they appear as nothing more than the continuation of one of the shafts very slightly interrupted by a collar. In the Perpendicular portion there is a reversion to the earliest of the forms in the reappearance of a definite capital breaking the line.

It is not possible in a small book to deal in any way adequately with the numerous monuments "whose speaking marbles show what worthies form the hallow'd mould below," one can only point out the most famous and striking of the great men whom Burke looks upon as "the guide-posts and landmarks in the State."

The grave which above all others is now pre-eminent in the nave is that of the Unknown Warrior, whose resting-place has become a shrine perhaps drawing as great a procession of pilgrims as those of the more famous of the mediæval saints. On 11th November, 1920, the second anniversary of the armistice which had brought to an end the World War of 1914–18, there was laid to rest in the midst of the nave a nameless warrior of the British race. This son of the Empire who had fought on the side which had taken the sword in the defence of the sanctity of a treaty was without rank or name; his identity had been lost in the welter of battle, and on this account the highest honours were paid to him as typifying all those who had made the

supreme sacrifice in a cause which the conscience of humanity accepts as right and just. The sun gleamed softly from an autumn sky on the solemn Day of Remembrance, when the abbey-church, filled with a vast concourse representing every grade of society from the King downwards, received the ashes of the Unknown Warrior. Here he lies among the kings and queens, and many of those whose services to their country have justified burial in the ancient abbey-church, which is revered above all buildings in the British Isles.

The south-west tower, once known as the Baptistery, has acquired the name of the "Little Poets' Corner," from the memorials to Wordsworth, Keble, Matthew Arnold, and Charles Kingsley to be found there. Adjoining the tower is a door leading to the deanery, and above it is the oak gallery erected by Abbot Islip, and known as the Abbot's Pew. A monument to William Congreve, the Restoration humorous dramatist, is below this pew. It was put up by Henrietta Duchess of Marlborough, daughter of the great duke and heiress of his property, who had a curious infatuation for the gouty playwright, who left her his fortune of £10,000, with which she bought a diamond necklace to wear in remembrance of him. Congreve was the greatest dramatist of his age, but he was so chagrined by the reception given to his play, *The Way of the World*, that he resolved never to write again for the theatre. The failure of this his most ambitious play in 1700 has been reversed in recent years, when after a long period of neglect it was revived in 1924 with the greatest success. Near that of Congreve is the grave of Ann Oldfield (died 1730), a famous actress

of her day (the rival of Anne Bracegirdle), who insisted on being as elegantly attired for her last rest as in life.

> No; let a charming chintz and Brussels lace
> Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face.
>
> POPE.

Dr. Francis Atterbury (died 1732), the Jacobite Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester, who was concerned in plots against the Hanoverians and suffered imprisonment and exile in consequence, lies under a stone slab on the floor near by, his body being allowed to return to Westminster to be buried, at his own wish, "as far from Kings and Cæsars as the space will admit of."

There is a tablet on the south wall to Sir William Temple, the distinguished statesman in the court of Charles II., and his wife Dorothy, whose love-letters to her husband, when Dorothy Osborne, have endeared her to many readers. Not far from the Temple monument is one to Major John André, who was hanged as a spy by Washington in 1780. He was only twenty-nine when he was captured by the Americans while on a secret mission to the renegade General Arnold, and being in civilian dress was not accorded the privileges of a soldier. The bas-relief shows Washington receiving the petition in which André begged that the mode of his death should be adapted "to his feelings as a man of honour." After burial under the gallows his body was subsequently brought to England and interred in the abbey. The heads of Washington and André have often been broken off, an incident to which Charles Lamb referred in his essay, *The Tombs in the Abbey*, in a manner which gave great offence to Robert Southey, the poet. "The mischief

was done," he wrote, "about the time you were a scholar there. Do you know anything about the unfortunate relic? . . ."

Three of England's greatest scientists are buried in the nave. Charles Darwin, the world-famous author of the *Origin of Species* (died 1882), and Sir John Herschell (died 1871), the astronomer, lie close together in the north aisle of the nave; while the grave of Sir Isaac Newton, the great philosopher and mathematician, is near them on the north side of the entrance to the choir.

The oldest monument in the nave is that of Mrs. Jane Hill, who died in 1631. It shows a kneeling figure in black touchstone. Before this date apparently only the transepts and the eastern chapels were used for burials, though not many years later, in 1637, the Poet Laureate, Ben Jonson, was buried near by. His monument is in the Poets' Corner, but his body is in the north aisle of the nave, or rather stands upright, for the poet begged for a space two feet by two, as six feet long was too expensive for him. It has been proved that he was undoubtedly buried in the strange position he had indicated. The well-known inscription, "O rare Ben Johnson" [1] (no longer over the grave, but placed against the wall), was most probably cut "at the chardge of Jack Young, afterwards knighted, who, walking here when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen pence to cut it," and not through the interest of Sir William Davenant, to whom it has been ascribed.

Dr. John Hunter, the father of modern surgery and the founder of the Museum of the College of

[1] So it incorrectly appears.

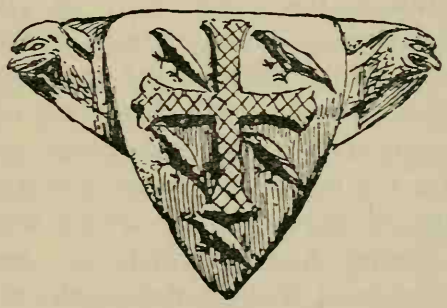
Surgeons, is buried near Ben Jonson. He died in 1793, at the age of sixty-five, having done an incredible amount of work, getting up at five o'clock in the morning to dissect, seeing patients all day, and working again until midnight, writing many medical monographs, finding time for lectures and the duties of a hospital, and withal famous as one of the greatest of surgeons. He was at first buried in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, being afterwards removed to his present resting-place in 1859 through the efforts of the Royal College of Surgeons.

Round about the north-west or belfrey tower are the memorials of some of the Whig statesmen, chief among them being a massive monument to Charles James Fox, represented in semi-nudity, dying in the arms of Liberty, while a negro at his feet is kneeling in gratitude to him for helping to abolish the slave trade. Fox is actually buried near to his rival Pitt in the north transept. William Pitt, the great Prime Minister of the Napoleonic era, has a monument over the west door, where he is shown making a statement which History is recording, while a figure of Anarchy groans in chains.

The Transepts

There are few transepts in England to compare in beauty and dignity with those of Westminster. Though greater in length, they show many resemblances with the cathedrals of Northern France, particularly in the size and arrangement of the windows, which are strikingly different from the Early Gothic style then

prevailing in England. Old St. Paul's possessed rose windows of a similar character, but only in France were such windows set in a square frame as at Westminster, where, rich in the splendid glass of the XIIIth century, blazing in gold, ruby, and sapphire, these windows must have been one of the greatest glories of the abbey. Unfortunately they are no longer to be seen as they were constructed by Master Henry, for various restorations have altered them to suit the idiosyncrasies of later architects. Wren restored the original north rose window in 1722, which remained without further alteration until 1884, when Sir Gilbert Scott was entrusted with the work of repairing the north front, and under the cover, as already mentioned, of a high scaffolding and barricade put in a completely new window, under the impression that he was getting back to the work of the original builders. Mr. Lethaby, who saw and studied the window as left by Wren, declares that though it was poor and thin in comparison with the one which Wren restored, yet it preserved the tradition of the older one in many important points, whereas the latest edition swept everything away, and gave something new in its place. A marked change, due to the caprice of the architect, is noticeable in that the spandrels at the base of the rose,



THE ARMS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

As they appear on the walls of Westminster Abbey.

which had originally been pierced and glazed, were left solid in the north window, whereas the original form remains in the south. The south rose window has also suffered severely; being renewed in 1670, and again in 1814, when one observer at least thought the restoration was quite unnecessary. In 1900, when new glass was inserted, the restorers seized this opportunity to renew the stonework once more. Thus repeated restoration and reconstruction has allowed little of the actual work of Henry III. to remain. Apart from the alterations in the windows, the north and south walls of the transepts are strikingly rich and beautiful, with three tiers of arcading possessing some of the finest sculptured ornament in the abbey. On the tier below the rose windows are to be seen in the spandrels of the arches what are known as the Censing Angels, which are quite perfect in their loveliness, though almost out of sight, carved rather for "the glory of God" than for the admiration of man.

The aisles of the transepts are somewhat lost to sight, those in the north being shut off by monuments; and in the south, the western aisle had to be given up to the east cloister walk, which encroaches into the church. The muniment-room is above this lost aisle—it is a stage below the triforium.

At one time screens shut off the transepts from the choir, thus making a large congregation impossible, but in the middle of last century Dean Buckland caused them to be removed.

St. Faith's Chapel, at the southern end of the south transept, occupies the space between the transept proper and the Chapter-House. It was at one time

used as the re-vestry, the eastern end being reserved for the chapel, which is now set apart for private devotion. The figure of St. Faith can be discerned above the altar, the saint holding in her hand the symbol which recalls the story of her martyrdom, for she had been burned to death on a brazen bed. At the western end of this little chapel is the gallery from the dormitory used by the monks when entering the church for the night offices. The encaustic tiles on this gallery are still in excellent condition, being unworn except by the soft night-shoes of the Benedictine brethren.

In passing from the architecture to the monuments in the transepts one is immediately confronted by the aggressive nature of the XVIIIth- and XIXth-century memorials which block the aisles, and which have cut into the beautiful blind arcading of the walls. "To clear away the monuments" became at one time the urgent desire of all the greatest lovers of the abbey, but the best apology for the monuments themselves and for their retention is pleaded by Dean Stanley; who, while admitting without reservation their incongruity and false taste, yet insisted that we possessed in the abbey "a record of the vicissitude of art," from the recumbent effigy to the standing figure, through many varied forms. "We thus discern," he wrote, "the evanescent phases of the judgments of taste, which ought to make the artists and the critics of each successive age if not sceptical at least modest as to the immortality of their own reputations."

With this plea in our minds we must approach the "Statesmen's Aisle" in the north transept, which earned its name through the burial there of the great William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, in 1778, for after that

date it was thought fitting to place all other statesmen near to one of the greatest of the race. St. Paul's had begged for the honour of holding the body of the man who had done so much to maintain the honour of his country, but Parliament decided upon Westminster, and Macaulay was thus able to write, "High over those venerable graves towers the stately monument of Chatham, and from above his effigy, graven by a cunning hand, seems still, with eagle face and outstretched arm, to bid England be of good cheer, and to hurl defiance at her foes."

In goodly company the statesmen cluster round the stately bronze-like columns, their white marble thrown out in somewhat crude contrast to the time-worn and swarthy tones of the mediæval background.

Lord Palmerston, whose faith in his own judgment carried him and the country he loved so much through many a crisis, stands next to Chatham, facing George Canning across the transept, while they both look down upon the graves of Fox (whose monument is now in the nave), and Henry Grattan, the great Irish leader. William Ewart Gladstone, in academic robes, is close to Sir Robert Peel, whom the sculptor refused to depict save in a Roman toga; while Lord Beaconsfield, the constant opponent of Gladstone, is only now separated from him by the monument to Admiral Sir Peter Warren. The statue of Lord Castlereagh, which faces that of Beaconsfield, represents a man to whom England owes much for his management of affairs during the critical time of the Napoleonic wars, but whose manners, though strictly courteous, were so cold that he won the affections of no party, and became much hated for his repressive methods in the domestic policy

of the Government. This unpopularity was forcibly shown in the riot caused at his funeral when the mourners "literally fought their way into the church; and it was not till the procession had effected its entrance, and the doors were closed, that a stillness succeeded within the building, the more affecting and solemn from the tumult which preceded it."

Next to Castlereagh is the imposing monument to Lord Mansfield, one of the few representatives of the law in the abbey. He was Lord Chief Justice in 1756, and as a lawyer is famous as one of the greatest of the judges of the XVIIIth century; while as a politician he rivalled the eloquence of Chatham, his handsome appearance and "silver-tongued" enunciation aiding the "reasonableness, the luminous order and the serene dignity" of his speeches. During the Gordon Riots in 1780 his house in Bloomsbury Square was burned by the mob,[1] on account of his support of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill.

Sandwiched in among the modern statesmen is the fine monument to the first Duke of Newcastle, who died in 1676, and his literary wife, Margaret, who died three years before him. Her husband describes her in his inscription as a "wise, wittie and learned lady," one of a noble family, "for all the brothers were valiant and all the sisters virtuous." The duke himself lost a large fortune in support of the Royalist cause.

Opposite to the Newcastle tomb, with its dignified recumbent effigies, is the gigantic monument to "The Three Captains," which fills an entire bay, and was

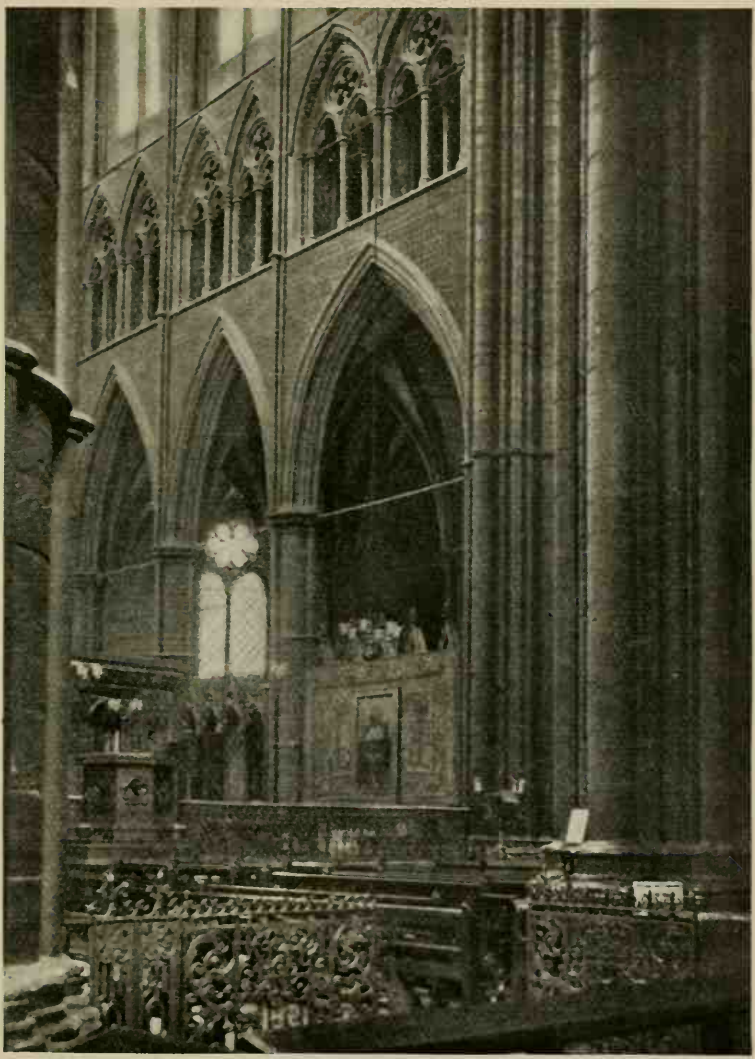
[1] [The account of the burning of Lord Mansfield's house given by Charles Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge* is one of the most stirringly-told episodes of that fine novel.—ED.]

put up in a moment of enthusiasm by the king and Parliament to those in command of three men-of-war who fell in Rodney's great victory over the French fleet in the West Indies on April 9th, 1782—a monument out of all proportion to the achievement and the small distinction of those who fell in its accomplishment. Lord Robert Manners, the youngest of the three, was only twenty-four years of age.[1]

Monuments in the South Transept. Crossing beneath the lantern to the south transept, a portion of the building familiarly known as "The Poets' Corner" is reached. At one time the poets really were confined to the corner close to the south door, but now their memorials have spread over the greater part of the south transept, although the western wall has earned the name of the "learned" or "historical" side.

The earliest poet to be buried here was Geoffrey Chaucer, who owed this honour more to the fact that he lived in an adjoining house than to any public appreciation of his art. In spite of being the favourite of three succeeding monarchs, Chaucer never achieved wealth, being obliged, in 1399, to appeal for help to Henry IV. in a writing called the "Complaynte to his Purse," which apparently touched the king, who increased his annual income by forty marks. During the last year of his life it is just possible that Chaucer may have lived in a house situated in a garden by the Lady Chapel of Henry III. There is evidence that he leased such a house, but as this was a common

[1] [To understand the reason for the great monument it is necessary to recall that until Rodney assumed command the British fleet had suffered many reverses and the French navy was very much in the ascendant.—Ed.]



G. H.

UNDER THE CROSSING OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Viewed from the south aisle of the north transept. Features noticeable from this standpoint are the lovely triforium, the diaper-filled spandrels between the arches, the sedilia (right of pulpit), and the portrait of Richard II.

form of investment at the time it need not imply occupation. The structure was pulled down when Henry VII. erected his chapel on the site. Chaucer was buried before "St. Benet's Altar" in 1400, but remained without any further memorial than a leaden plate, "hongeinge on a pylere," until a century and a half later, when an admiring poet, Nicholas Brigham, in 1555, caused the present tomb to be erected. The canopied monument belongs to a much earlier period than the XVIth century, and is thought to have been one of those turned out from the Greyfriars' Church when dismantled under Edward VI. The painting of the poet which once adorned the back of the tomb has vanished, but his heraldic arms are still to be seen on the altar-tomb.

The bust of John Dryden, the poet-laureate under Charles II. and James II., stands outside St. Benedict's Chapel, and his grave is close to that of Chaucer. He died in poverty in 1700, and his monument, now considerably altered, was put up twenty years later by his friend Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire. Abraham Cowley (died 1667), scarce remembered now but highly regarded in his own day, has an urn monument next to that of Chaucer. Close by are those of the two most famous of the Victorian poets—Robert Browning and Alfred, Lord Tennyson.

Clustering round the small south door are the memorials of Ben Jonson (who is buried in the nave), of Edmund Spenser, Samuel Butler (the author of *Hudibras*), and John Milton, who is buried in St. Giles', Cripplegate. Ben Jonson, who was alone among his fellows in not caring for Spenser as a poet ("Spenser's stanzas pleased him not, nor his matter"), declared

that Spenser died of "lack of bread," which is thought to be an exaggeration, for though wrestling with poverty, he was not utterly destitute. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, paid for the expenses of the funeral, which was attended by all the poets of the age—Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, and possibly even by Shakespeare—who threw into the grave their mourning poems together with the pens with which they wrote them.

Michael Drayton (died 1631), who in his own day was thought to have a "name that cannot fade," is now little known, for the number of visitors to the abbey at the present time who have read his *Polyolbion* must be few.

Near the memorial to Shakespeare, whose bones, all are aware, remain undisturbed in the beautiful parish church of Stratford-upon-Avon, lie many men of letters. The memorials of three friends are close together. David Garrick, whose fame as an actor caused his funeral on 1st February, 1779, to be celebrated with almost as much pomp as that of a great statesman, a military guard keeping back the crowd, lies close to his lifelong friend, Dr. Samuel Johnson, who had been seen at his friend's funeral "bathed in tears," and who was destined to follow him to the abbey only five years later. Dr. Johnson had been gratified by the knowledge that in all probability he would be buried in the abbey, but his funeral was not nearly so impressive as that of Garrick, for young Charles Burney complained that there was neither anthem nor choir service, but "merely what is read over every old woman that is buried by the parish." Oliver Goldsmith, another of the friends known to us through

G. H.

THE POETS' CORNER IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The Gothic tomb in the foreground is that of Geoffrey Chaucer. It will be noticed how, in order to make a space for the adjoining XVIIth-century marble monument, the beautiful blind arcading of Henry III.'s period has been hacked away.

the pages of Boswell's Life, as well as from his own writings which are so familiar to all English-speaking peoples, is remembered by a medallion over the doorway to St. Faith's Chapel. His grave is on the north side of the Temple Church, but he fully earned a niche in the abbey, for his poems have become household words, and *The Vicar of Wakefield* has a permanent place in English literature. His friends considered that the epitaph of "so eminent an English writer ought to be perpetuated in the language to which his works are likely to be so lasting an ornament," but Dr. Johnson, who was requested to write the epitaph, refused "to disgrace the walls of Westminster Abbey with an English inscription."

Famous names accost one everywhere on both floor and walls, and among the more notable are those of Dickens and Thackeray, the two great novelists of the Victorian era; of William Camden, the famous antiquary and father of British topography; of Lord Macaulay, the historian; and of John Gay (died 1782), the author of the *Beggar's Opera*, so popular among Londoners of to-day. There is a tomb-slab on the floor, under the first bay of the eastern aisle, which recalls a stirring incident which occurred in the abbey of the Middle Ages, strange among the later memories. A brass effigy once occupied the tombstone, but this has been removed, and only a faint outline of the figure of a knight now remains to mark the burial-place of a man whose death caused the closing of the abbey for four long months. Robert Haule in 1378 had sought sanctuary in the abbey, but armed men, under Sir Alan Boxhull, the Constable of the Tower, with Sir Ralph Ferrers, burst into the church, and

slew Haule, who fell covered with wounds before the prior's stall while the celebration of High Mass was actually taking place. For this desecration the Abbot Nicholas de Litlyngton closed the abbey, and laid the case before the king, while Parliament was suspended, as it could not meet in the chapter-house within the polluted precincts. The two knights were excommunicated and forced to pay heavy fines, in spite of the indignation of John of Gaunt, under whose instructions the desecration was very possibly committed. In the end the abbot obtained the redress he claimed, and the rights of sanctuary were reaffirmed, the story of the miraculous visit of St. Peter being brought forward as proof. The body of the murdered knight was the first to be buried in the south transept—all other pre-Reformation tombs are to be found east of the crossing.

The Choir and Sanctuary

The choir and sanctuary afford the most striking evidence of the foreign influence surrounding the building of Westminster Abbey. The usual custom in the English churches was to place the choir east of the crossing, and to make a long eastern arm, embracing choir, sanctuary, and chapels. In Westminster this method was not carried out, for the eastern apse, as planned for Henry III.'s church, was quite short, the choir being placed in the first four bays of the nave to the west of the lantern. This feature is not uncommon in Normandy, and has proved particularly suitable for a coronation church, the raised platform on which the

royal thrones are placed being easily accommodated in the central space of the crossing.

There is no real doubt that Harold II., whose brief reign terminated at Senlac Hill, was crowned in the new Norman abbey, and every king since his date has not failed to receive the crown of St. Edward in the abbey-church, with the exception of the young King Edward V., who never reigned in any real sense. The coronation service has always possessed great significance; it meant not only the acceptance by the people of their king, who in the coronation oath swore to observe the rights of his subjects, but it also possessed a special meaning in the consecration of the monarch to his high office. The anointing with sacred oil was no meaningless ceremony—it conveyed to the king the sense that he was set apart for a special duty. This is well brought out by Mr. Bernard Shaw in his play of *Saint Joan*, where he makes the Maid of France impress upon the lethargic Dauphin the necessity for his coronation.

> Thou'rt not king yet, lad: thou'rt but Dauphin. . . . I know the people: the real people that make thy bread for thee; and I tell thee they count no man king of France until the holy oil has been poured on his hair, and himself consecrated and crowned in Rheims Cathedral.

A linen coif was placed over the king's head after the consecration so that no drop of the unction should be lost.

The regalia used for many centuries were those of St. Edward, which the abbey retained, only loaning them to the sovereign for the actual day, though the coronation robes of the Confessor were exhibited in the church twice a year. The abbey retained the regalia

till the time of the Commonwealth, when the Parliament decided, with a limited vision of the future, that there was no further need of them, and consequently gave orders for their sale. Ever since the Restoration the new crown still bearing the traditional name of St. Edward has been kept at the Tower of London, being handed over to the custody of the dean, together with the other regalia on the evening before a coronation.

The first monarch to be crowned in the glowing splendour of Henry III.'s church was Edward I., who was in the Holy Land when his father died. He and Eleanor, his much-beloved wife, were crowned on the same day, the first occasion when a king and queen were associated in a joint ceremony. For the crowning King Edward wore a mantle of crimson satin, clasped by a brooch, known as a chlamys, similar to those seen on the early effigies of the kings—a revival in England of the Roman traditions which had been perpetuated by the "Holy Roman Empire."

The coronation of Anne Boleyn has been described with such detail and charm by Froude that one seems to see the actuality—the lovely Anne setting out from the Tower, whither she had voyaged from Greenwich a few days before, and being rowed down the silver Thames, amid the gorgeous trappings of the state barge. The city had made itself gay with arras and tapestry, hanging cloth of gold and velvet and splendid Persian carpets from the windows, while guards kept the freshly gravelled road clear for the procession and the white chariot in which sat "Fortune's plaything of the hour. . . dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples

circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds. The following day, Sunday, 1st June, 1533, she was crowned in the abbey, Henry VIII. not being present, as he wished her to be the centre of the ceremony, to reign alone, hoping that she would win the hearts of the people by her grace and beauty. The old Duchess of Norfolk bore her train, while the Earl of Oxford carried the crown on its cushion before her. Cranmer placed the crown of St. Edward upon her head, but it was found to be so heavy that it was soon replaced by a light one which had been prepared for her.

> The rich stream
> Of lords and ladies, having brought the Queen
> To a prepared place in the choir, fell off
> A distance from her; while her Grace sat down
> To rest a while, some half an hour or so,
> In a rich chair of state, opposing freely
> The beauty of her person to the people.

So wrote Shakespeare when the fair queen's daughter was occupying the throne, and would be pleased to remember the triumph, short though it might have been, of her ill-fated parent.

The coronation of Charles II. has a special interest, for entirely new regalia were used, except perhaps the spoon which had escaped the attention of the Parliament when the old regalia were dispersed. Pepys witnessed the ceremony, having got up at four o'clock in the morning and squeezed himself on to a scaffold "across the north end" of the abbey, "where with a great deal of patience I sate from past four till eleven. . . ." He remarks on the dais, "all covered with red, and a throne (that is a chaire and footstoole) on the top of it," where the king could be seen. Old Arch-

bishop Juxon, who had attended Charles I. upon the scaffold, was so enfeebled that he could take little part in the service.

The coronations of the early Hanoverian monarchs evoked small interest, but that of George III. was carried out with due dignity, the queen wearing all the jewels she possessed and those she could borrow from the ladies of her court. But it was their son, George IV., who is remembered for the splendour of the ceremony, which cost nearly £250,000. Most elaborate preparations were made, the choir being closed for a year to enable the architect, James Wyatt, to make many alterations. The stout king found the length of the service and the weight of his robes so heavy a trial on the hot July day that he was continually wiping his face with handkerchiefs, which the archbishop dutifully held for him. A letter quoted by Miss Bradley in her *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* gives the impression of a young girl who was present. She admired Lord Londonderry in the dress of a Knight of the Garter, "the only one of all the peers who fully looked his station," finding him to be "remarkably handsome, dignified and sensible-looking." Prince Leopold, who married the Princess Charlotte, the only child of George IV., also came in for commendation. "He looked most kingly; I never saw a more noble, sensible, collected face and deportment . . . quite of another race to the thick, heavy, stupid-looking Royal Family who followed him."

The attempt of the discarded Queen Caroline to take her place in the abbey proved a pathetic failure. Arriving early, about six o'clock in the morning, at Dean's Yard, she tried at each door from the cloister to

enter the abbey, and on being repulsed by those on guard, she made her way round to the south door leading to the Poets' Corner, only to be met by a courteous but firm refusal from Sir Robert Inglis, who said to her: "It is my duty to announce to your Majesty that there is no place in the abbey prepared for your Majesty." At this the queen turned away and drove off in her carriage, baffled and defeated, and not many weeks later her funeral *cortège*, on its way to Brunswick, had difficulty in getting through the crowded streets on account of the popular sympathy evoked by the harsh treatment accorded to her.

It was Queen Victoria's good fortune to rouse the sense of enthusiastic loyalty of her people in a much greater degree than any of her House. Her coronation was the symbol of a new era of hope and prosperity. She herself has left a minute account in her diary, 28th June, 1838, of her own feelings on the great day from the time she was awakened at four A.M. by the guns in the park until the dinner-party in the evening. She describes the putting on of the crown, and the homage which she evidently appreciated. "It's a pretty ceremony," she writes, and adds, "my good Lord Melbourne knelt down and kissed my hand; he pressed my hand and I grasped his with all my heart, at which he looked up with his eyes filled with tears and seemed much touched, as he was, I observed, throughout the whole ceremony."

The splendour of a royal function in the abbey is something unforgettable by anyone who has witnessed it. The venerable building, so dark and sombre in its colouring, seems suddenly to blossom into a tropical flower-garden, blazing in the richest and most gorgeous

of colours. The tiers of seats mounting high among the lofty columns are filled with every hue—crimson, orange, green, blue, and purple—while sparkling gems glitter like dewdrops among the petals. The vision scarcely focusses into individuals, into uniforms, or robes, but seems one magnificent stretch of glowing radiance.

The sanctuary within the altar-rails is one of the most beautiful parts of the abbey, containing a wonderful mosaic pavement, and three of the most exquisite of mediæval tombs. The pavement was finished in 1272, the date with the name of the chief artist-craftsman, Odericus, together with that of the king and the abbot, being inserted in the curious inscription, which represented the duration of the world by the lives of animals—dogs, horse, man and so on. The marbles for the mosaic were brought from Italy by Abbot Richard de Ware when on a visit to Rome to obtain the Pope's sanction for his election. The Confessor's first tomb was in front of the altar, and by lifting a trap-door on either side it is possible to see the bases of the original Romanesque pillars of his church.

The oldest woodwork in the abbey is to be found in the sedilia, the back panels of which were painted, but with the passing of time had become so coated with dirt that nothing was distinguishable until a new method of skilful cleaning was recently tried. This has brought to light traces of painted figures. On the sanctuary side representations of kings can be discerned in two of the panels, the others being too damaged to see more than the edges of the robes of the saints. These paintings belong probably to the early XIVth century. The backs of the panels facing the south ambulatory, above the reputed tomb of Sebert, show the crowned

figure of Edward the Confessor, with ring and sceptre clearly visible, the other two panels revealing an Annunciation with the Angel Gabriel holding a scroll. Three carved heads forming fringes to the canopied hood of the sedilia are excellent in workmanship.

But the most important architectural treasures of the sanctuary are the three beautiful canopied tombs—already mentioned—occupying the bays on the north side. They are representative of Decorated Gothic art at its best and all in every way worthy of their setting. The first one nearest the lantern is that of Aveline, the daughter of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, whose heraldic shield can be seen in the north aisle of the choir. Her marriage in 1269 with Edmund, second son of Henry III., known as Crouchback, was the first great ceremony held in the new abbey, and there is no record of any other royal wedding until 1919, when Princess Patricia of Connaught was married to the Hon. Alexander Ramsay. Aveline died childless, leaving her great wealth to enrich her husband's family, and thereby laying the foundations of the overshadowing power of the House of Lancaster. His effigy has been badly treated, but in spite of this it shows considerable grace and beauty, while the whole tomb is rich in colour and gilding, the original hues of which have been revealed by the

EFFIGY OF AVELINE, COUNTESS OF LANCASTER—1273
On her tomb in the Sanctuary.

THE EFFIGY OF AYMER DE VALENCE—1324

On his splendid tomb in the Sanctuary.

new cleaning process lately carried out.

Her husband's tomb is separated from her by that of Aymer de Valence, son of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, the half-brother of Henry III. This lovely monument, showing the recumbent figure of the noble in mail armour, with surcoat, sword and belt, enriched with *gesso* work, with eight "weepers" on either side of the altar-tomb, was once nearly lost to the abbey through the ignorant vandalism of Zachary Pearce, who became dean in 1756. He actually wished to remove it to provide space for the incongruous cenotaph of Wolfe, which was eventually given more than sufficient prominence in the north ambulatory. Fortunately Horace Walpole wrote expressing his distress that one of the finest of the monuments should be removed, and begging that if it were cast out he might have it at Strawberry Hill. The dean was roused by this protest, and discovered that

as Pembroke was no mere Knight Templar, he could remain.

Adjoining this tomb is that of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, the largest and perhaps the finest of the three, though the "weepers" are not so full of character as those of Pembroke, which seem por-

EQUESTRIAN FIGURE ON THE CANOPY OF THE TOMB OF EDMUND CROUCHBACK (*i.e.* Crossback)—EARL OF LANCASTER

traits, whereas the crowned and sceptred figures are conventional. Prince Edmund's effigy shows him in mail armour and surcoat, while in the trefoil of the canopy above he is represented on horseback. All these tombs are covered with heraldic emblems, and when bright with colour and fresh with gilding must have made a dazzling triad, even allowing that the newly-cut Caen stone of the interior had also been painted.

Before leaving the sanctuary one should notice the fine Renaissance monument to Anne of Cleves, the divorced wife of Henry VIII., who died during the brief reign of Mary Tudor, after having dutifully become a convert to the faith of her latest royal protector, who caused her body to be buried with full ceremonial in the abbey, Bonner saying Mass. The tomb, which was not finished till the time of James I., has a fine marble slab, thought once to be that of the High Altar. It is now known to have been purchased in 1606 for the sum of £7. Above this tomb is the framed portrait of Richard II., painted about 1395, probably by a French artist. It is the earliest painted portrait of an English sovereign.

THE EFFIGY OF EDMUND CROUCHBACK—1296

On his tomb in the Sanctuary.

The glass in three of the eastern clerestory windows of the apse is made up of XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth-century fragments.

The choir itself calls for no special mention, for the stalls are of modern workmanship, and the monuments in the choir aisles are neither remarkable for special beauty nor historic interest, though

one in the south aisle has gained notoriety as being the most grotesque in the abbey. The monument to Admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, by the sculptor Bird, was said by Horace Walpole to make men of taste dread such honours. The gallant sailor, who had risen from low degree to high rank in the navy, is represented as a dandy clad in Roman armour, leaning on his arm, above a sarcophagus, while a huge periwig falls upon his shoulders.

The Aisles, however, possess a unique series of fourteen sculptured stone heraldic shields—the oldest in the country—whose original colours have recently been brought to light by the cleaning process of Mr. E. Tristram. These shields are as old as the church itself, and are probably those of the nobles and monarchs who helped to benefit the abbey. Heraldry did not become a hard-and-fast science till the time of Henry V., when the office of Garter-King-at-Arms was instituted and coat armour became hereditary. Before that time men had adopted orderised coats as they pleased. Edward the Confessor's shield, "an azure cross patonce between five martlets," shows its early date in that the martlets have feet, which later heralds discarded. There are shields of Henry III. ("Gules, three lions, passant, or"); of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester ("Gules, a lion rampant, doubled-tailed, argent"); of Raymond, Count of Provence ("or, four pallets gules)"; of Louis IX. King of France ("azure, semee-de fleurs de lis or"); and other men famous in the history of the xiiith century.

The Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, also known as "The Chapel of the Kings"

The chapel of St. Edward the Confessor has always been regarded as the most sacred place in the abbey. Throughout the Middle Ages it was venerated as the resting-place of the royal saint at whose shrine wondrous miracles were performed, and in modern days it is renowned as the burial-place of famous kings:

> An acre, sown indeed,
> With the richest royalles and seed,
> That the earth did e'er drink in.

Round about the shrine, clinging to the mound on which it is raised, and the soil of which was brought, according to the story, from the Holy Land, are the tombs of kings who ruled England during the stormy days, when she was struggling through absolutism to a constitutional monarchy. Six kings and five queens of England lie in this hallowed ground, reminding the moralist that

> Death lays his icy hand on kings.
> Sceptre and crown
> Must tumble down,
> And in the dust be equal made
> With the poor crooked scythe and spade.

Though every king has been crowned at Westminster, no monarch was buried there for two hundred years after the Confessor, until Henry III. had rebuilt the abbey-church and had been interred there himself. Then, however, it seems to have become the desire of the Plantagenet kings to rest as near to the shrine

as possible. With a few exceptions, all the royal burials took place in the abbey until the time of George II., when the preference for Windsor, which had begun with Edward IV., was so strong that since 1760 no monarch has been buried elsewhere.

The centre of St. Edward's Chapel is occupied by the shrine, which at one time could be seen from the body of the church, since there was no screen to separate the chapel from the sanctuary. Above the low retable behind the altar, the splendid golden erection, standing high on its marble base, glittering with coloured glass and jewels, held the gaze of worshippers far down the church. So rich and wonderful was it that an Italian visitor in the xvth century declared that "neither St. Martin of Tours, nor anything else that I have ever seen, can be put into any comparison with it."

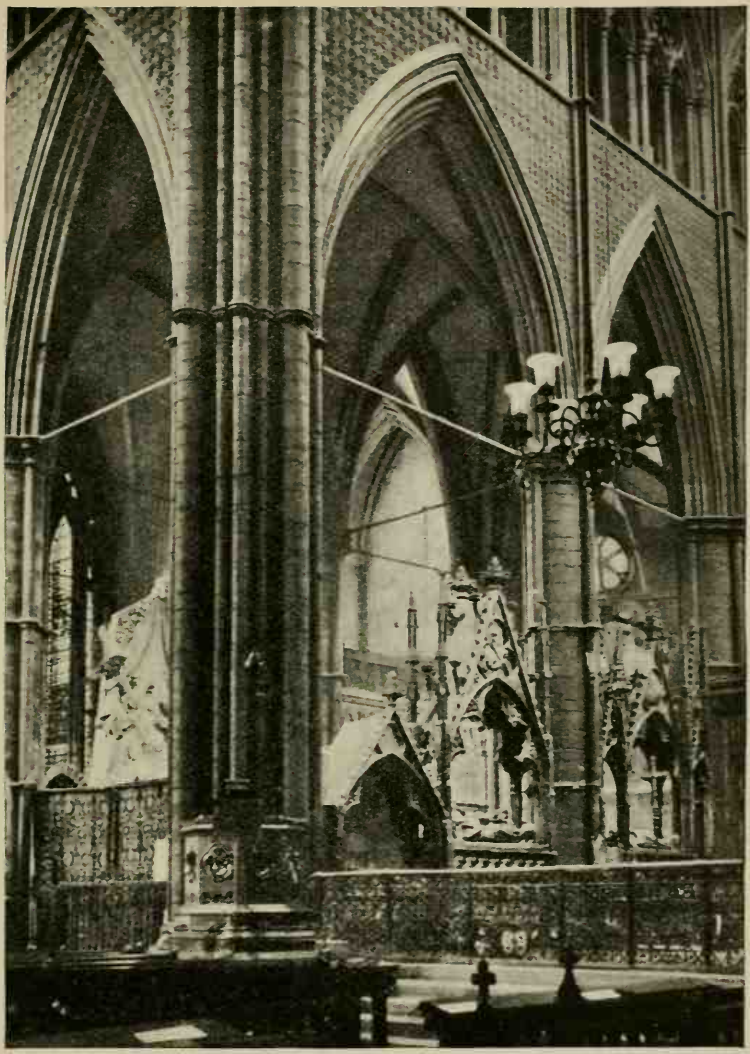
The workmanship, even in an age of great artistry, was evidently considered supremely beautiful.

Peter "the Roman" was brought over by Abbot Ware, with other Italian workmen, to carry out the work of which only the mutilated torso remains. Besides the coloured marbles with which it is inlaid, considerable traces can still be seen of the gorgeous glass mosaic which once adorned it, but the pristine glories of the golden shrine are lost for ever. In the recesses on each side those who came hoping for the cure of their maladies were wont to insert the afflicted portion of their bodies. An altar stood at the west end of the shrine, and recently a new one has been erected in its place, though for many centuries after the Reformation there was only a table, which at the coronation of Queen Victoria, to the surprise of the

young sovereign, was employed to hold refreshments for the royal party!

"I repaired," writes the young queen, "with all the peers bearing the regalia, my ladies and train-bearers, to St. Edward's Chapel, as it is called; but which as Lord Melbourne said was more *unlike* a chapel than anything we had ever seen; for what was *called* an *altar* was covered with sandwiches, bottles of wine, etc. . . ."

As a place of pilgrimage the shrine became enriched with many costly gifts—successive kings and queens giving jewels or images, either formed of the precious metals or heavily adorned with them. At the ends of the shrine were pillars, holding aloft statues of Edward the Confessor and St. John the Evangelist, so closely associated through the legend of the ring. Of all the many shrines in England this is the only one (save that of a somewhat obscure saint in Dorsetshire) which still holds the body of its tutelary saint. At the Reformation not only were the shrines destroyed, but the bones of the saints were so effectually dispersed that no one could gather them together again. The destruction in Westminster Abbey, however, was not so drastic, and though the shrine itself was despoiled the body of the saint was not injured. It has been said that the tomb was broken up completely and the Confessor's body interred in the ground beneath, but this was not the case, for it is nearly certain that the monks secretly buried the saint elsewhere in the abbey, while only the rich gilded and jewelled erection above the mosaic substructure was destroyed for the sake of its monetary value. During the few brief years when the monastery was re-established by Queen



G. H.

THE SANCTUARY OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

On the left is part of General Wolfe's huge monument, and on the right is the triad of canopied monuments of the Decorated period which forms one of the glories of the abbey-church. The coronation of the sovereigns takes place just within the railings on the right.

Mary I., Abbot Feckenham restored the shrine as well as means permitted, replacing the body in a new wooden superstructure of Renaissance arcading, which was doubtless intended to be replaced by something more worthy, but which has remained to the present day. One notices the portions of the shrine which Feckenham restored with plaster, and observes the inscription which he painted to represent the original which had been in mosaic.

It is perhaps difficult, as one regards the dun-coloured but still impressive survival of to-day, to imagine the splendour of the structure when the pilgrims gazed upon it—resplendent in all its beauty, the golden shrine above the rich substructure of porphyry, green serpentine, and variegated tesseræ below, with many gilded images set with rare jewels—rubies, sapphires and emeralds. It is, however, a matter for gratitude that the zeal of the "Reformers" did not destroy everything, as in the case of the shrine of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury, leaving not a vestige of its bygone splendours. The remains of the Confessor yet repose in the coffin above, after many vicissitudes.

In 1685, after the coronation of James II., a certain "singing man" of the abbey choir, Henry Keepe, who knew the abbey well, having written a guide-book upon it, noticed a hole in the coffin, caused by the clumsy carelessness of the workmen who were employed on preparations for the coronation. Keepe clambered on to the shrine, thrust in his hand and withdrew it with a crucifix and gold chain in his grasp. At the same time he obtained a glimpse of the body—an experience which he thus describes:

I drew the head to the hole and viewed it, being very sound and firm, with the upper and nether jaws whole and full of teeth, and a list of gold above an inch broad in the nature of a coronet surrounding the temples.

Whether Keepe meant at first to sell the cross or not, we cannot be certain, but he continually showed it to Bishop Sprat, Dean of Westminster. Sprat brought him to the king, to whom the cross and chain were delivered. The cross may have been stolen by the Faversham fisherman when James II. was escaping, but more probably it was sold by the monarch when in exile. It has passed through many hands since Keepe disturbed it, and was supposed to have been sold at an auction in 1830; but this is found to have been an invention of the auctioneer.

THE SCREEN which shuts off the western end of this chapel is considered to belong to the time of Edward IV., though there is no documentary evidence of its erection. The stone is much worn, but the sculptured frieze still shows clearly the story of the life of the Confessor, for the edification of the unlettered pilgrims.

THE CORONATION CHAIR, containing the famous Stone of Scone, stands with its back to the screen. It was constructed in 1301 by order of Edward I., after his victories in Scotland in 1296, when he brought away the historic stone on which the kings of Scotland had hitherto been crowned. The history of the stone is extremely obscure, and beset with fables, all, of course, tending to exaggerate its undoubted antiquity. It was claimed as the very stone upon which Jacob laid his head at Bethel; as having been carried to Egypt, Spain and Ireland, where on the hill of Tara it became

the Stone of Destiny—*Lia Fail*. Legend states that a certain King Fergus brought it over to Scotland, where it is reputed to have rested for a while at Dunstaffnage, near Oban, a hole being shown in which it lay before being taken to Scone, where it remained until it was brought to Westminster. And ever since then it has remained in the abbey, only once leaving it to be taken to Westminster Hall for the installation of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector.

The cold opinion of science seems to be that the stone is composed of the sandstone of the west coast of Scotland. If this be correct, it may possibly have been the stone pillow on which St. Columba laid his dying head at Iona. The statement that it is composed of a Scottish sandstone was made by Professor Ramsay, who denied that any such sandstone could be found in Egypt. Mr. W. J. Loftie, however, mentions [1] that the famous colossi of Amenhotep III. at Thebes, commonly called the *Vocal Memnon*, are made of the same type of sandstone.

The truth probably is that it is the stone upon which the leader of the "Scuits," who invaded North Britain from Ireland somewhere about 350, stood or sat to be hailed king by his wild followers after they had established in Argyll their settlement of "Dalriada." Dunstaffnage was the capital of this obscure little kingdom until about 840, when Kenneth MacAlpin, partly by force, partly owing to relationship with the recently extinct royal family of Pictland, became master of the whole country north of the Forth, and moved his capital and coronation stone eastward to Scone. There it remained for 460 years, though the

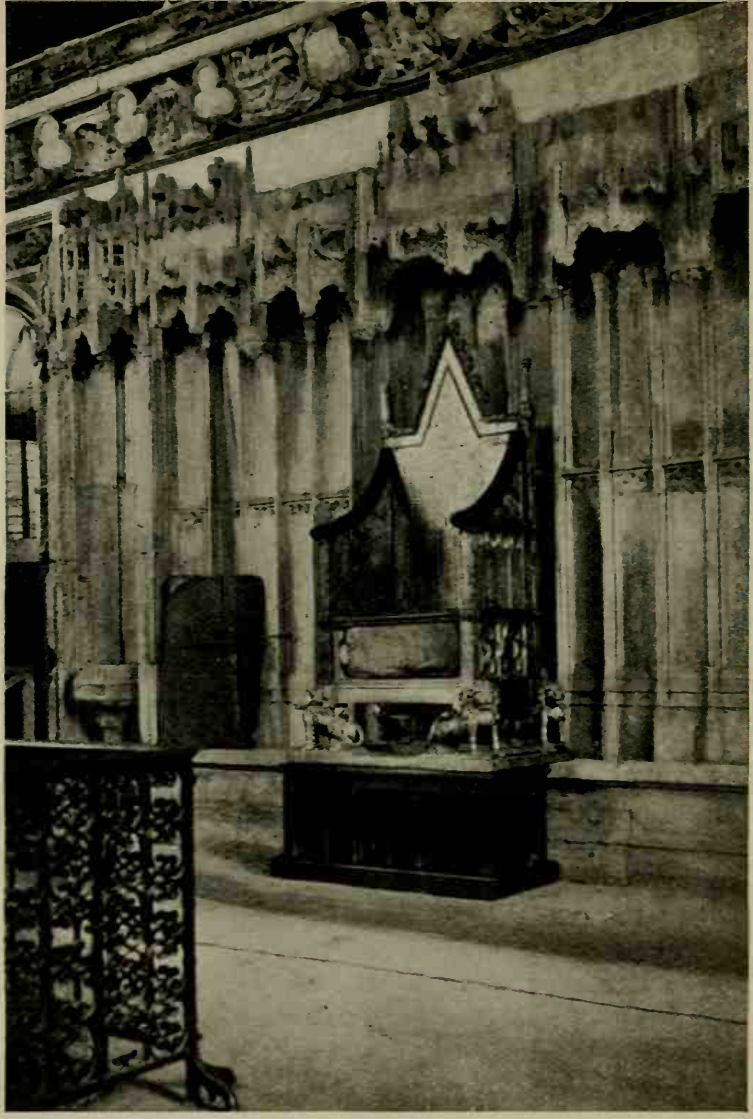
[1] *Brief Account of Westminster Abbey*, p. 46.

monarchs of the united realm, now definitely called Scot-land, commonly resided elsewhere, first at Forteviot, afterwards at Perth and Dunfermline. Scone, however, kept its pre-eminence as the sacred coronation-place of the kings, the last who was actually crowned there being Charles II. on the 1st of January, 1651—Captain-General Oliver Cromwell grimly awaiting his opportunity at Edinburgh!

Still fixed in the ends of the stone are the rusty iron shackles each terminating in a ring through which was passed a pole when the stone was carried from place to place. Unfortunately no record seems to exist to indicate whether these were fitted by the Scots at a very early period, and it is therefore impossible to deduce from their existence that the sacred object often accompanied the kings on important journeys or campaigns.

The Scots saw the departure of their sacred stone with rage and despair, and made many efforts to recover it, its return being one of the terms of the Treaty of Northampton in 1328, but the pride of the English never let it go, though a writ was actually issued to the abbot. The chair with its Gothic wood-sculpture and brilliant painting was once a true work of art. It was made in 1300–1. The chief artist was Walter of Durham, the king's painter, who decorated the oak frame with gilt gesso work and a picture of a king upon his throne, traces of which can very faintly be distinguished in the midst of the defacement caused by the many names and initials which criminally careless custody in the past has allowed to be incised upon it. The gilded lions at the base are modern.

The shield and huge two-handed sword which rest



G. H.

THE CORONATION CHAIR OF THE KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND SINCE THE REIGN OF EDWARD I.

It was constructed in 1301 at the order of that monarch, to contain the sacred stone of Scone which he had brought to London. The two-handed sword and shield were carried by Edward III. during his wars in France.

near the coronation chair belonged to Edward III., who carried them during his wars in France. They have been objects of special interest ever since Queen Elizabeth's time, when, though the abbey had ceased to be the goal for pilgrims seeking pardon or restoration to health, it had become the resort of visitors to the tombs of the kings.

The heavy blade may very well be that which Edward wielded at his famous single combat with Eustace de Ribeaumont on 31st December, 1349. If he did, it is easy to understand that he was too powerful an adversary for the gallant Frenchman, who nevertheless beat him down twice before he was stunned by a heavy blow and so forced to surrender. Edward was prouder of his personal victory over a famous French knight than of any of his military successes—which shows the flamboyant spirit which he must have inherited from his French mother. The gentlemanly side of his nature shows in the generosity with which he congratulated and released the gallant Sir Eustace —but certainly he had no business where he was. He simply went out of sheer boyish desire of a "good scrap"—and undoubtedly he enjoyed it.

Next to the screen on the north side stands the plain black marble tomb of Edward I., so marked in contrast with the richness of the shrine and the other royal tombs. The marble sides were once gilded and painted, and it is probable that a rich pall covered the tomb, which was never really finished. This, it is said, was due to the carelessness of the great king's feeble son, who neglected to carry out any of the promises extorted by his father at his death. Edward I., though in a dying condition, had reached the Solway Firth

on his way into Scotland when he knew his end had come. He forced a promise from the reluctant prince to carry his corpse at the head of the army until Scotland was subdued; and to send his heart to the Holy Land. The fact that the tomb is of such a plain character suggests that it was only a temporary one, the erection of a finer monument having been postponed.

Painted on the side of the tomb facing the ambulatory are the words, "Edwardus Primus Scotorum malleus hic est 1308. Pactum serva (keep troth)." This inscription is thought to have been added by Abbot Feckenham two centuries after the death of the warrior king, as a mournful reminder that the troth was not kept. But on the other hand, Edward's motto being *Pactum Serva*, the inscription may just as well be a personal tribute.

Instead of the king's bones being carried into Scotland his body was brought to Waltham Abbey, where it lay near that of Harold II., being brought four months later by order of Parliament to Westminster. In 1771 the tomb was opened and the tall, powerful frame, with those lengthy limbs which earned the king his popular nickname of "Longshanks," was exposed to the view of members of the Society of Antiquaries, who surveyed the royal dress, the rich crimson satin mantle, the sceptre and the crown, before all was lost to view for ever by the black pitch which was copiously poured over everything, and the tomb closed with cement. Horace Walpole might well remark with quiet satire that the dean and chapter "boast now of having enclosed him so effectually that his ashes cannot be violated again."

The tomb of Henry III., the builder of the Gothic

church, is next to that of his son, and as close to the shrine as was possible. It is of similar workmanship, and was probably carried out by the same artists who had not yet finished their task of enriching the tomb of the Confessor. Like the shrine it is composed of two storeys, and has the twisted columns of Italianate design and the mosaic which distinguished the work of Peter "the Roman." The two great slabs of porphyry on the sides of the upper portion were brought from Italy, and were very likely the spoil of some ruined Roman temple or palace. The lower part of the tomb facing the shrine has three recesses which doubtless held relics protected by some kind of grille. The gilded bronze effigy of the king shows him, not as he was at his death—"an aged man who had reigned for fifty-six years of middling stature," with the eyelid of one eye drooping, but as a conventional figure of a king; though Mr. W. J. Loftie thinks he can see in the features the contradiction of Henry's character, the cowardice and treachery as well as the piety and artistic capacity. This effigy, a very beautiful one, was made by William Torel, an Englishman.

Henry III. lay for nineteen years in the original tomb of the Confessor, before the High Altar, while the magnificent sepulchre due to his son's devotion was being prepared, and before that was ready Edward I. was giving orders for yet another tomb, this time to receive the body of his dearly-loved wife, Eleanor, who had died of a slow fever at Harby in Nottinghamshire upon St. Andrew's Eve in 1290. The king's grief and the crosses which he caused to be set up at the twelve resting-places on the way to London are familiar to all readers of English history. It is not

THE EFFIGY OF ELEANOR OF CASTILE ON HER TOMB IN ST. EDWARD'S CHAPEL.

so well known that three tombs were erected—one at Lincoln, another at the Blackfriars Monastery in London, where her heart was preserved, and the third at Westminster, which alone has survived the changes of the passing centuries. The one at Blackfriars perished at the Dissolution; that at Lincoln during the Civil War, though a copy has been recently made from the drawings left by Dugdale. One—the monument at Westminster—remains to testify to the love of the king for the consort who had been his companion throughout a long married life, even going with him to the Holy Land, where a story has it that she saved his life by sucking poison from a wound.

That story is unfortunately almost certainly without foundation, but the strong and deep affection which subsisted between the greatest but one of the monarchs of England

and the Spanish bride whom he had wedded at the age of sixteen is a very beautiful fact. Not the least of the great monarch's fine qualities was his purity in private life—an attribute which is not very common among kings. Something, too, must be set to the credit of the lady who ruled his affections for thirty-seven years of sunshine and storm. It is strange that the story of the deathless love of a splendid man and a woman worthy of him has inspired not one of the great English poets. But at least one fragrant little ballad has been written round it in modern times by Mortimer Collins, and the first and the last two verses may be remembered by those who look upon the grave of Eleanora de Castilla:

O fairer than vermilion
  Shed upon western skies
Was the blush of that sweet Castilian
  Girl, with the deep brown eyes,
As her happy heart grew firmer,
  In the strange bright days of yore,
When she heard young Edward murmur,
  "I love thee, Elëanore!"

. . . . . .

Years after, sternly dying
  In his tent by the Solway sea,
With the breezes of Scotland flying
  O'er the wild sands wide and free,
His dim thoughts sadly wander
  To the happy days of yore,
And he sees, in the grey sky yonder,
  The eyes of his Elëanore.

Time must destroy those crosses
  Raised by the Poet-King;
But as long as the blue sea tosses,
  As long as the skylarks sing,

As long as London's river
Glides stately down to the Nore,
Men shall remember ever
How he loved Queen Elëanore.

Eleanor's tomb of Purbeck marble, one of the loveliest in the abbey, is more English in its characteristics than that of her father-in-law. The panels on its sides enclose the heraldic shields of England, Castile, Leon and Ponthieu ("3 bends and a border"), the base on the face towards the ambulatory shows traces of a painting by the same artist, Walter of Durham, who was responsible for the coronation chair. He probably also painted the canopy, destroyed when Henry V.'s chantry was thrown across the ambulatory, and the present Perpendicular tester erected in its place. The queen's effigy of gilded bronze set with jewels was the work of the same William Torel who had just finished the effigy of Henry III. It represents a beautiful woman with a face full of sweetness and repose, but is not regarded as a portrait because the queen was about fifty years of age and had borne many children; but this seems somewhat an arbitrary conclusion, for Eleanor is known to have been a very beautiful woman, and may have been one of those who retain much of their loveliness at a late period of life. A grille of elaborate workmanship protects the tomb on the side of the ambulatory. It was wrought by Thomas of Leghtone Beaudesert (Leighton Buzzard), an English worker in metal. Down to the Reformation candles were kept burning round the tomb, and on St. Andrew's Eve, the anniversary of Eleanor's death, no less than one hundred wax candles were lighted, every abbot binding himself by oath to observe this custom.

An embossed inscription runs round the tomb:

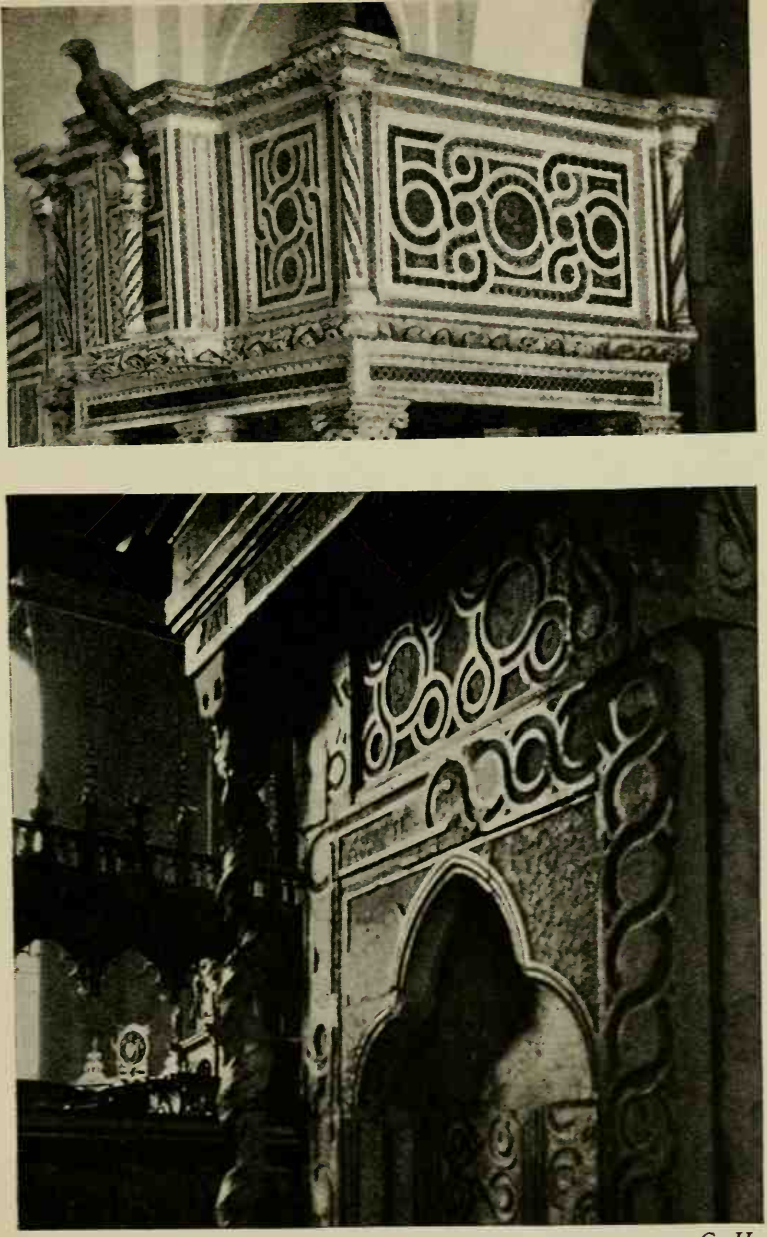
ICI GIST ALIANOR JADIS REYNE DE ENGLETERRE FEMME AL REY DE ESPAGNE E CONTESSE DE PONTIU DEL ALME DE LI DIEU PUE SA PITIE EYT MERCI. AMEN.

But it was Edward himself who penned his dead wife's best and most touching epitaph, when he told the story of his bereavement to the Abbot of Clugny. One can almost see the unwilling tears falling as the strong brave man wrote the few simple words which expressed his bitter grief. "I loved her tenderly while she lived: I do not cease to love her now that she is dead."

The last king to be buried within the sacred chapel of the Confessor was Henry V., for whose tomb it was necessary not only to encroach upon two of the fine tombs adjoining, but also to bridge the ambulatory. Always devoted to the abbey, Henry, in his will drawn up at Southamption in 1415 before setting out for his campaign in France, distinctly stated that he wished to lie in the Confessor's Chapel, leaving minute directions concerning the position of his tomb, having evidently realised the difficulties of the problem. His body was to rest where the reliquary chest formerly stood at the eastern end of the shrine, while a chantry chapel was to be carried on a bridge over the ambulatory, to be reached by spiral staircases. Henry died at Vincennes at the early age of thirty-four, making "a most perfect and devout end," with his confessor and chaplains at his bedside, reciting the penitential psalms. Just before he died, he exclaimed clearly, as if addressing some evil spirit, "You lie, you lie, my portion is with the Lord Jesus."

Paris and Rouen both desired to hold the body of the famous warrior-king, but his expressed instructions as to Westminster were naturally carried out, and a stately funeral procession set out from Paris, the coffin being drawn by four splendid horses, with an effigy of the king placed upon it "made of boyled hides or leather, representing his person, and painted to the life; upon whose head was set an imperial diadem of gold and precious stones; on his body, a purple robe furred with ermine; in his right hand he had a sceptre royal, and in his left a ball of gold with a cross fixed thereon." James I., King of Scotland, who had been a prisoner in England during his youth, followed as chief mourner with the English princes, while the widowed queen, Katherine of Valois, came a league behind. Wherever the *cortège* rested, services were held, masses said, and requiems chanted, —through Abbeville and thence to Calais, and on the march from Dover to London. At St. Paul's a specially solemn religious ceremony preceded the final interment in the abbey. No former king had ever had so splendid a funeral. The profusion in wax candles alone was enormous. Sixty poor men, who received a shilling per head for their task, carried torches, each weighing over fourteen pounds. The coffin was drawn on its chariot by four horses, whose collars were emblazoned with the arms of England and France, through the west door and up the unfinished nave—the floor strewn with sand and straw—up to the choir, whence the coffin was borne to its appointed place close to the shrine.

The tomb is of Purbeck marble, and the effigy was sculptured of oak except the head, which was moulded of silver and gilded, the body being covered with silver-



G. H.

THE EAST END OF THE SHRINE OF ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

Showing the form of the inlay of glass and marble tesseræ.

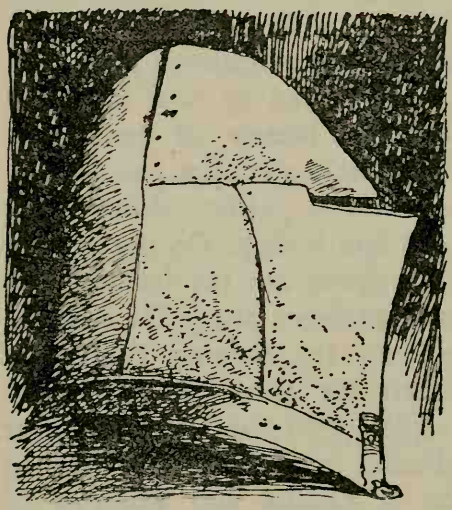
Above for comparison is shown part of the larger pulpit at Ravello in Campania, an example of contemporary Italian art.

gilt plating. Unhappily none of this splendour is to be seen to-day, for sacriligious hands robbed the tomb in 1545 of all its precious metal, leaving nothing except the wooden core to commemorate "King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!"

Though Henry was buried in 1422, the chapel was not begun till 1438, being finished six years later. The design was carried out as the king had wished, the chantry being built over the ambulatory. Its sides, rich in carving, very little injured by time or iconoclastic hands, are yet intact. Nearly all the figures possess their heads, and the coronation scenes depicted in the centre are almost perfect, showing the king with a mitred abbot and bishop. On the cornice immediately above the archway are the badges used by Henry, the swans and antelopes of the De Bohuns, and his favourite emblem, the flaming beacon or cresset, which symbolised the throwing off of his sinful past. The two spiral staircases with canopies of the richest Perpendicular intricacy, which overlap the tombs of Eleanor of Castile and Philippa of Hainault, lead from the chapel to the chantry, where the reredos above the altar, dedicated to the Annunciation, bears large sculptured figures of St. George of England, St. Edmund, St. Gabriel, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Denis of France, the latter holding his severed head.

The famous relics, hitherto kept close to the shrine, were now moved to aumbries on either side and at the back of the altar of the chantry, which probably became a watching loft for the brethren appointed to guard them. Among the most precious of these were the crystal vase containing the Holy Blood sent by the

Templars from Acre, and brought by Henry III. to the abbey with great ceremonial; a girdle of the Virgin; the sacred footprint left at the Ascension! and the skull of St. Benedict. The large sculptured figures on the turret staircases represent the Confessor, who has his right hand raised; St. John the Evangelist, shown as an aged man in a pilgrim's hat; two royal figures, perhaps representing Sebert and Henry III.; while the mitred abbots are doubtfully identified as Dunstan and Wulsin. The gateway which closes the west end of the chapel is a beautiful piece of iron-work, made by Roger Johnson of London in 1431; it was originally painted red and blue.



TILTING-HELMET CARRIED AT THE FUNERAL OF HENRY V.

Now placed on a beam under the arch occupied by the chantry of Henry V.

On a beam above the chantry, visible down the length of the church, hang the saddle, helmet and shield of the hero-king. Unhappily the helmet is not the one "that did affright the air at Agincourt," but a tilting-helm used for the funeral. But these trophies evoke a vision of the king whom Shakespeare has drawn as a type of manly courage, of ripe wisdom and judgment, for it is unquestioned that from the moment

of his father's death, Henry did put aside all his youthful follies, and became a model king, hard-working and courteous, cautious and deliberate beyond his years. But there was a certain lack of geniality and of kindness which, amid his many noble qualities, detract from the lovableness of his character. His diplomacy was conscienceless, and his warlike methods savage. In a word, he was, like his father, a hard man. This harshness has been signalised by Shakespeare in that scene where the new-made king disowns his former boon-companion, Falstaff, with scornful words, "I know thee not, old man," and bids him

> Leave gormandising; know the grave doth gape
> For thee thrice wider than for other men,

and banishes him from his sight on pain of death.

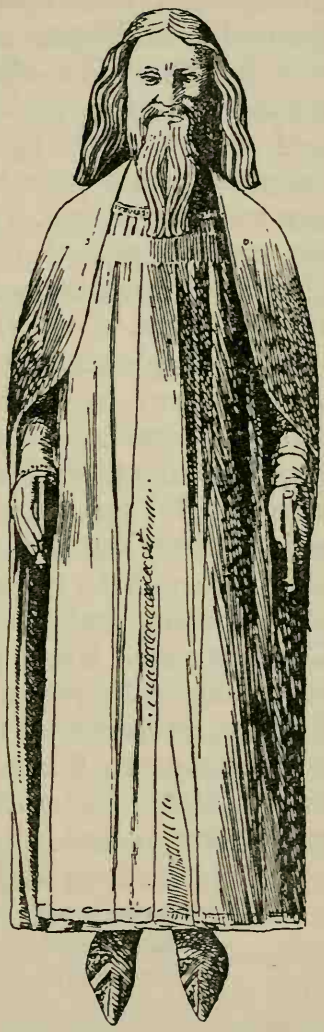
Katherine of Valois, the French princess whose love-scenes are familiar through the magic of Shakespeare's art, dropped into insignificance after the death of her famous husband. She married an obscure Welsh gentleman, Owen Tudor, whose personal beauty had apparently attracted her, and became the mother of Edmund Tudor, whose son ascended the throne as Henry VII. At her death she was buried in the centre of the first Lady Chapel—the chantry of Henry V. not being finished. Her remains were translated thence when her grandson erected the chapel which is known by his name. The body was then wrapped in a sheet of lead, and placed in a coffin of loose boards alongside the tomb of Henry V. It could be distinctly seen, "the bones being firmly united, and thinly cloth'd with flesh, like scrapings of tann'd leather." This vision immensely interested Pepys, who visited the

abbey on his thirty-sixth birthday, and who writes in his diary that he saw, "by particular favour, the body of Queen Katharine of Valois, and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a queene." In the middle of the XVIIIth century the body was hidden from sight in the Villiers vault in the chapel of St. Nicholas, and now rests beneath the altar in the chantry, to which her remains were moved in 1878 through the instrumentality of Dean Stanley.

Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III., lies next to the chantry chapel on the south side. Her tomb is still a very fine one, though much of its beauty has been destroyed, together with the greater number of the little figures or "weepers," thirty in number, which originally stood beneath elaborately sculptured canopies around the tomb. It is often complained that the builders of Henry V.'s chantry showed scant respect for the monuments on either side, but the way in which the staircase thrust itself on Queen Philippa's tomb has preserved two of these "weepers" from being stolen, and thus affords an impression of its original appearance. Edward III., who owed much to his comely, stout Flemish wife, spared no expense over her tomb, which is of black marble. The effigy made by Hawkin (or Hennequin) of Liège, is of white marble, and apparently an excellent portrait, the first which is accepted as a genuine representation of the royal personage in life. The good queen, whose pleading for the burgesses of Calais is always remembered, made a last request of her husband when on her dying-bed that he should be interred by her side in Westminster Abbey, and accordingly, close beside her, separated only

by a column of the apse is the tomb of Edward III. A carved wooden canopy overshadows the tomb, which is of Purbeck marble, enriched with "weepers" under canopies. Six of them have disappeared, but those on the side of the ambulatory remain, and are especially interesting for the light which they throw upon the costume of the period. They have been identified, by means of the heraldic shields below them, as the Black Prince (shown with a long beard); Joan de la Tour; Lionel, Duke of Clarence; Edmund of Langley, Duke of York; Mary of Brittany, and William of Hatfield. There is some doubt with regard to the Duke of York and William of Hatfield, their shields having been stolen, but a xvth-century record attests it. The effigy shows the king as an elderly man with a long carefully arranged beard: the face having probably been modelled from a death-mask.

The space in the next bay is occupied by the large tomb of



THE EFFIGY OF EDWARD III. 1327–1377

On his tomb in St. Edward's Chapel. It is no doubt a portrait.

Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, erected by Richard in his lifetime on the death of his much-loved wife in 1394. The effigies of the king and queen repose side by side, their hands at one time were clasped together, but as the figures were made up of separate parts, the hands have been removed by thieves who also stole the pillows. The long robes of the royal pair are covered with heraldic badges—the white hart (Richard's favourite emblem), the lions of Bohemia, and the eagles of the Holy Roman Empire. So great was the king's affection for his wife that, when she died at Sheen, he ordered the palace to be razed, and seemed to lose all control in his overmastering grief, even knocking down Lord Arundel, who had (perhaps intentionally) come late to the funeral. His good fortune certainly left him with his queen, for five years after her death he was deposed by his cousin, Henry of Lancaster, and died mysteriously in Pontefract Castle in 1400.[1] His body was brought to London and lay exposed in St. Paul's before being interred at King's Langley, probably in the church of the Blackfriars, where his uncle, Edmund of Langley, was afterwards buried. Henry V. translated Richard's body to Westminster and buried it beside his wife.

> I Richard's body have interred new;
> And on it have bestow'd more contrite tears
> Than from it issued forced drops of blood:
> Five hundred poor I have in yearly pay,
> Who twice a-day their wither'd hands hold up
> Toward heaven, to pardon blood.

[1] [There is very little doubt that he was murdered, not perhaps by violent methods but by cold and deprivation of food. Direct evidence is lacking, but the indirect testimony is grimly suggestive. Ed.]

Richard, whose reign began amid disasters without and economic troubles within, displayed much judgment in the manner in which he ultimately put matters on a better footing, and often appeared to show a desire to govern wisely, but he wrecked the fairest prospects through his varying moods of passion, through his boastful arrogance, and his fits of sudden cruelty. Professor Tout writes concisely: "No sovereign was ever more entirely the author of his own destruction."

Four children of princely blood are buried within the sacred chapel. Margaret, the infant daughter of Edward IV., has a small sepulchre, which has lost its brass inscription, between the tombs of Edward III. and Richard II. She was the only one of the Yorkist House to lie within the abbey, until the reputed bones of her young brothers were brought from the Tower of London. Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry VII., who died at the age of three, has a little monument in black Lydian marble, nestling against Queen Eleanor's tomb. She died at Eltham in 1495. Two children, not of the immediate royal family, have memorial slabs, almost hidden by the chantry of Henry V., the step covering part of one. They are John and Margaret, the children of William de Valence, the uncle of Henry III.'s wife, Eleanor of Provence, whose splendid tomb is in St. Edmund's Chapel. Traces can still be seen of the inlaid brass and crimson and white mosaic which ornamented their graves, together with fragments of an inscription in Lombardic capitals.

The Lady Eadgyth, wife of Edward the Confessor, lies on the north side of the shrine, and "good Queen

Maud," wife of Henry I., on the south, while Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, found a resting-place close to his mother, Queen Philippa. Duke Thomas was probably the worst of the sons of Edward III., and all his life was a bitter opponent—a cruel and self-seeking opponent—of his unfortunate nephew, Richard II., whom he bullied and insulted, and whose friends he murdered or exiled. He was as unwise as he was vindictive, for his policy was the fatal one of war with France, while Richard was striving for peace. Richard bided his time. He ousted his uncle from power in 1389 but seemed to have pardoned him. Yet seven years afterwards he suddenly acted, inveigled him from his castle at Pleshey in Essex, and conveyed him to Calais, where he was almost certainly smothered in 1397. His body was brought from its first resting-place at Pleshey to Westminster by Henry IV. His grave was distinguished by an unusual brass, which had no central figure, but eighteen small ones, representing his wife, Eleanor de Bohun, his father, Edward III., Queen Philippa, and his brothers and sisters. This brass has now disappeared, but was seen and described by Dart in the XVIIIth century.

One other brass is to be found in the chapel of the kings, the only burial not of the blood-royal allowed within the sacred precincts. It represents John of Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury, so much honoured by Richard II. that he insisted upon his burial among the kings, in spite of the protest which was made.

The mosaic pavement of the chapel is usually covered up to preserve it from the constant wear of visitors, but a portion left exposed can be seen near the coronation chair. It was laid down by Peter

G. H.

THE SPLENDID ENTRANCE TO THE LADY CHAPEL OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

The doors of bronze are richly ornamented with panels bearing the heraldic devices of the Tudors.

"the Roman," who was responsible for the shrine, and is not of the pure *Opus Alexandrinum* style, but consists of mosaic designs set among blocks of Purbeck marble.

Henry the Seventh's Chapel

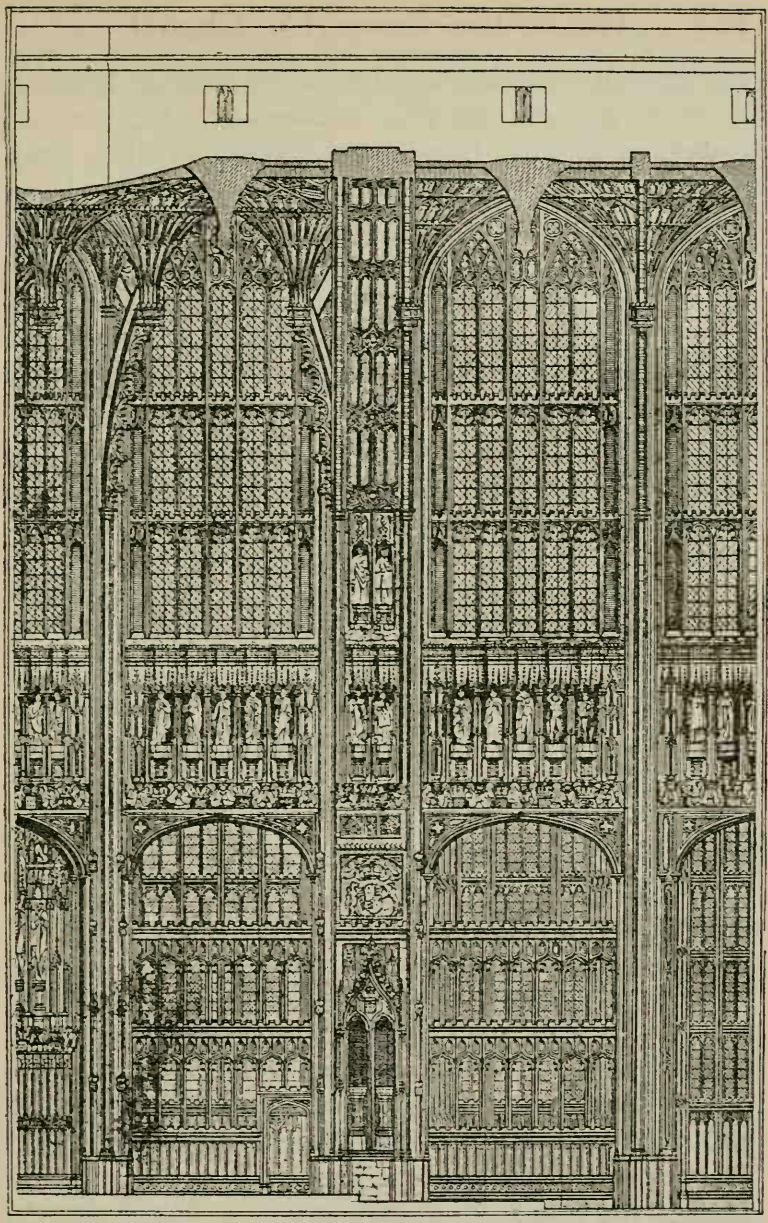
The founding of the Tudor dynasty by Henry VII. in 1485 definitely marks the end of the Middle Ages in England and the beginning of modern history. Yet to the abbot and monks of the Monastery of St. Peter at Westminster there seemed nothing ominous about the new king, who brought peace at last to a country distracted by civil war for nearly fifty years. Indeed, the monastery itself appeared to be in a more flourishing condition than ever before, with good order maintained among the brethren, the abbot holding a highly-esteemed position, and the work of building, always a sign of prosperity, reaching its highest activity since the reign of Henry III. Not even the most thoughtful of observers could have foreseen the destruction of the entire monastic system within little more than half a century.

Building operations attained their culmination under the three abbots who held office while Henry VII. was on the throne—John Estney, who had achieved his high position while Edward IV. was reigning; George Fascet, who only ruled for two years before his death in 1500; and John Islip, one of the most famous of all the rulers of the abbey. The nave was finally completed after work upon it had continued intermittently for well over a century; a chantry chapel was built by Abbot Islip for himself; and Henry VII. pulled down

the old Lady Chapel for the erection of the gorgeous building which now bears his name, but which was originally intended as a shrine for Henry VI. The striking point about the constructions of this period is that the builders were carrying out three different styles at the same time—the nave was being finished more or less in the Early English Gothic of Henry III., Islip's chapel was in Late Perpendicular, while Henry VII.'s chapel was being built in a style which foreshadows the coming Tudor school of that characteristically English style of Gothic art.

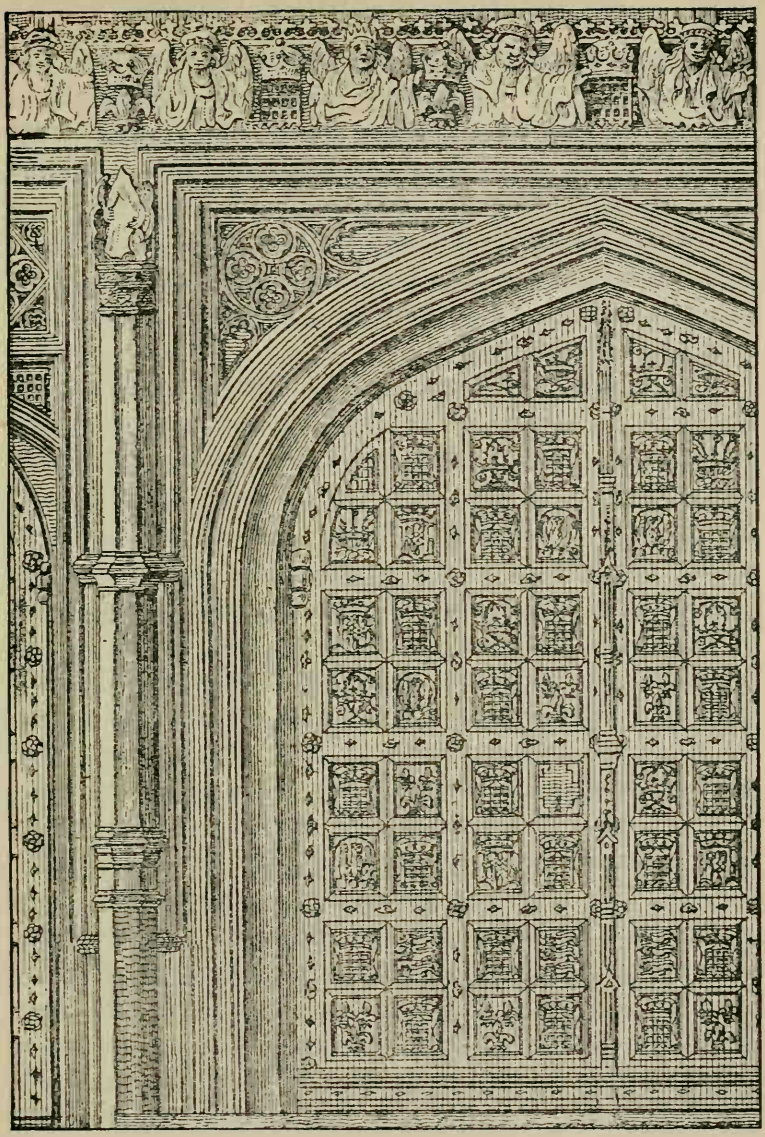
Unlike other parts of the abbey, there is considerable doubt concerning the actual architect of this beautiful royal chapel, which Leland described as an *Orbis Miraculum*; for though many names have been adduced, there is no documentary evidence which can decisively settle the question. The archives of the abbey do not contain the accounts, which are so precise in the earlier building; for Abbot Islip, when receiving money from the king, merely sent him a statement as to how it was being expended. Prior Bolton of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, whose work can be seen to-day in that fine Norman church, is mentioned as master of the works; but Robert Vertue is more likely to have been the architect chiefly responsible for the splendour of the chapel. John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, a great builder in his day, Sir Reginald Bray, and Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, are also suggested as possible architects, and no decision can be reached until Islip's accounts are discovered.

The visitor who has been studying the stately architecture of the great church of Henry III. suddenly finds himself, as he ascends the steps beyond



ELEVATION OF THE SOUTH WALL OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL
Showing the amazingly rich treatment of every part of its height.

the eastern end of the Confessor's Chapel, passing through a dark vestibule into a veritable jewelled casket, rich with lace-like carving encrusted upon roof and walls, brilliantly lighted by huge windows, and bright with the vivid colours of the banners of the Knights of the Bath, in all the glory of heraldic azure, vert, gules, argent and or. Below the clerestory windows, which fill almost the whole wall space, is a continuous row of canopied statues representing the favourite saints of the Tudor monarch, among them being St. Edward the Confessor, St. Oswald and St. Edmund (the royal saints of England), and St. Barbara, St. Anne, St. John the Evangelist, St. Anthony and St. Vincent. These beautiful figures, on their pedestals, stand above a sculptured frieze which runs all round the chapel, showing "demi-angels" interspersed by the Tudor heraldic badges of portcullis, crowned rose, crowned fleur-de-lis and other devices. So prolific is the ornament everywhere displayed that it may be urged that it has usurped the place of true architectural construction; that while the marvellous roof, every portion of which is gorgeously enriched, and whose pendants are a perpetual monument of the engineering skill of the Late Perpendicular architects, is amazingly clever, it is yet without meaning—a mere instance of "mediæval jugglery in which every noble quality of architecture is sacrificed to constructive pedantry and ornamental excess." Yet the construction is undoubtedly skilful; it has withstood the test of time with eminent success, and one cannot help feeling that if ever profuse ornament is justified it is in the Lady Chapel, the culminating point of a great abbey-church, the most elaborate portion of the casket. It is therefore



ONE OF THE BRONZE DOORS OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL

It is not easy to find in England any gates to compare with these for richness and workmanship.

more easy to be in sympathy with Mr. Francis Bond, who writes that this chapel "shows us Gothic architecture not sinking into senile decay, as some have idly taught, but bursting forth, phœnix-like, into new life, instinct with freshness, originality and inventiveness of youth; searching out paths which none had adventured before, subjecting the ancient problems to a new analysis, and solving them in a fashion equally surprising and delightful."

The building of Henry VII.'s Chapel was brought about by the desire of the Tudor king to erect a shrine for his unfortunate predecessor, Henry VI., who then lay obscurely at Windsor, after having been buried for a time at Chertsey Abbey. He endeavoured to obtain the honour of canonisation for the last of the Lancastrians from Pope Julius II., and began work at Windsor. No sooner, however, had the king announced his intentions than the abbeys of Chertsey and Westminster sent in their claims to hold the royal tomb, and so insistent were the rivals that a council was held at Greenwich to decide the vexed question.

The Abbot of Chertsey asserted that the body had been removed by force, and without his consent, by Richard III., who was never lawfully king. The Dean of Windsor declared that the Abbot of Chertsey was incorrect; for he had agreed to the removal, in which he assisted, and in his turn asserted that Henry VI. had desired to be buried in St. George's Chapel, near the college which he had built. But Westminster won the day by proving that the king had actually selected the place for his grave in the Confessor's Chapel between the shrine and the tomb of Henry III., and had directed the mason to mark the exact spot—marks which can

be traced to-day. While the appeal to the Pope was still proceeding Henry VII. applied to the Abbot of Westminster for £500, which was entered in the abbey accounts as being paid for the removal of the body of Henry VI. from Windsor, which has doubtless been responsible for the theory that the body actually did lie in the abbey. But the pious Henry VI., whose strongest exclamation was "forsooth and forsooth," and who hated war and cruelty, still rests at Windsor, although Henry VII. intended to remove his body, as he testifies in his will.

The canonisation was never effected, for although the Pope agreed to the proposal he required the payment of so exorbitant a sum of money for the privilege that the careful king did not see his way to procuring it. Nevertheless he adhered to his plan of building a chapel in honour of the Virgin Mary, "to whom in this mortal life hath ever been my most singular trust and confidence," and as a burial-chapel for his royal line. To do this he had to demolish the existing Lady Chapel erected in the early years of Henry III., and to remove the bodies of Abbot Berkyng, the first to be buried in the chapel, and Katherine of Valois, the widow of Henry V. and his own grandmother.

The foundation-stone was laid in 1503, and the whole building was in use just before the king died in 1509. As far as can be determined to-day, the original plan was that the king's tomb should be placed at the western end just within the gates; that the altar of the Virgin should be at the eastern end; and that behind the altar should be the shrine of Henry VI., probably in the easternmost of the five terminal chapels. Miracles had been performed at the tomb of Henry VI.

while the body lay at Chertsey, a fact which had prompted Richard III. to remove his victim to Windsor, where he could be under his own supervision, and it was doubtless hoped by the monks that further miracles would bring glory to the abbey. Henry VI. was undoubtedly a moral and virtuous man, kind and generous to the verge of imprudence, and according to his biographer, Polydore Vergil, "there was not in the world a more pure, more honest and more holy creature"; but withal, notwithstanding these good qualities, he was a man without firmness of character or clarity of judgment, and so became a helpless spectator of the ruin of his family.

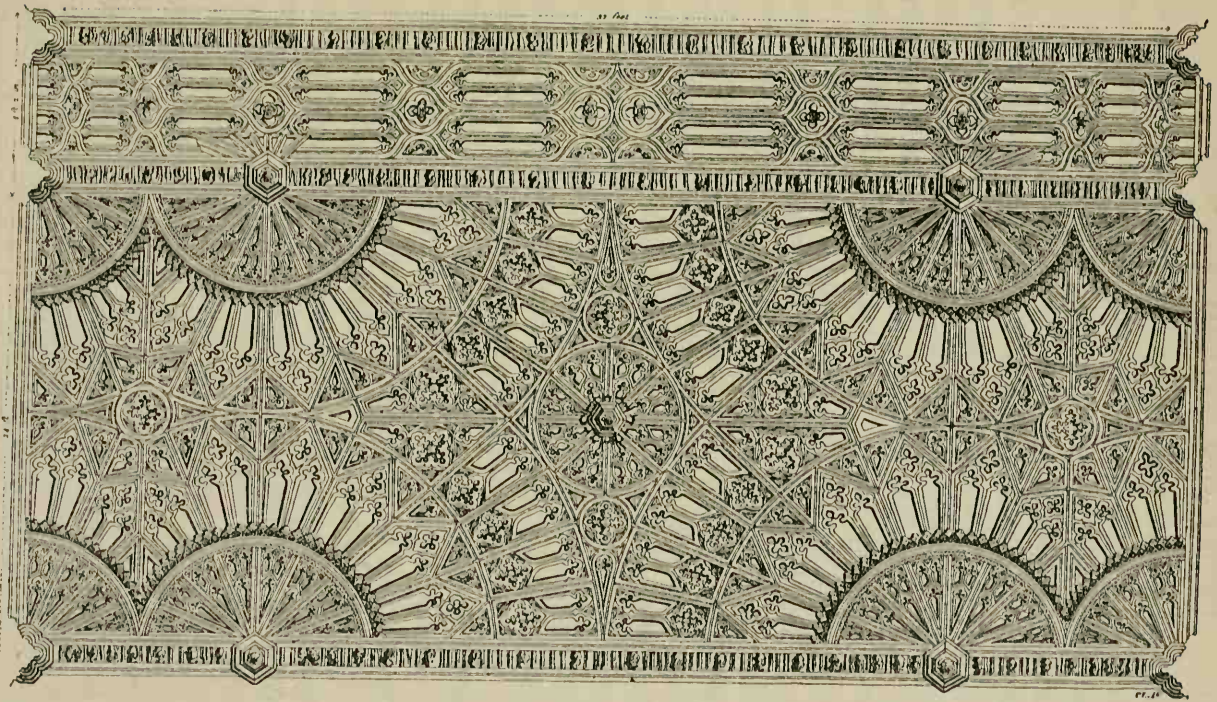
Just before his death Henry VII. drew up an elaborate will setting forth his intentions with regard to the chapel "we have begun to build anew in the honour of our Blessed Lady," which he liberally endowed to provide an income for the three chantry priests, who were to be Bachelors of Divinity from the University of Oxford; for the thirteen almsmen; for the preaching of sermons; for the giving of alms; for the daily masses, and the burning of torches and candles. Fees also were fixed for those high officials who were to attend the anniversary services of the king's death.

The royal tomb was already being erected, the beautiful grating "of coper and gilte, after the faction that we have begonne," being mentioned in the will. This "brassen chapel," as it is termed in the abbey records, was the work of Thomas Ducheman, and contained within it the tomb of the king and an altar at the eastern end dedicated to the Holy Saviour. Though it has suffered much, the copper grille is a

P. H.

THE MONUMENT TO THE CHILDREN OF GEORGE VILLIERS, FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

In the North-East Chapel of Henry VII.'s Chapel.



THE ELABORATELY FAN-VAULTED ROOF OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL

splendid piece of workmanship, with openwork panels having hexagonal turrets at the corners, and at one time enriched by thirty-two statuettes in gilded bronze, possibly designed by Laurence Yinber, who made "patrones" in timber of the figures. Only six of these images remain—St. George, St. John the Evangelist holding a cup, St. Bartholomew carrying his skin over his arm, St. Edward the Confessor holding up the ring, St. James the Great with the scallop-shell on his hat, and a figure which seems to depict St. Edmund. Within the brazen screen, described as "one of the most masterly pieces of metal casting in Europe," stands the beautiful tomb of Henry VII. and his queen, Elizabeth of York. This monument shows a return to the Classic style represented by the shrine of Edward the Confessor and Henry III. It was the work of the famous Florentine master, Pietro Torrigiano, who had been employed by Lorenzo the Magnificent till the quarrel with Michel Angelo which resulted in his breaking the nose of his more famous rival. Driven from Florence, he first worked in Rome till he was encouraged to go to England, where he was employed to construct the royal tomb, so exquisite a piece of work that we can almost excuse his boastful remarks of his feat "among those bears of Englishmen." The effigies of the king and queen are among the finest in the abbey; their portraiture is of the highest order, indicating the character of the royal pair in a marvellous manner. The frugal habits of the king, and the care with which he amassed a vast treasury reserve, have caused him to be credited with miserly instincts, but he really seems to have cared for wealth on account of the power

which it conveyed; and his expenditure on his chapel was certainly munificent. His stern features give the impression of a serious and thoughtful man rather than the pinched narrowness of a lover of money. Professor James Gairdner asserts that though grave he was by no means ungenial or sour in temperament—a statement which is fully borne out by his extant correspondence—and he was undoubtedly one of the wisest rulers of his age.

Round the sides of the table-tomb are beautiful bronze plaques representing various saints. There are Edward the Confessor and St. Vincent; St. Christopher bearing the child Christ, and St. Anne; St. Mary Magdalene with St. Barbara holding a tower; the Virgin Mary and St. Michael; St. George and St. Anthony; and St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. On the four corners of the tomb are brass cherubs supporting heraldic shields of the king, poised with such exquisite art that they seem ready to fly away.

Buried in the same vault with Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York is the body of James I., which was rediscovered by Dean Stanley in 1869, its whereabouts having been forgotten. Every vault in the chapel was explored; Anne of Denmark, his wife, was found lying alone, in spite of the assertion of Keepe that the king was buried beside his wife, and it was not until every other corner had been searched that the vault of the founder of the chapel was opened from the western end through the vault of Edward VI. Three coffins were discovered lying side by side, the one to the north being that of James, proved by the copper inscription on the leaden coffin. Dean Stanley writes of this discovery that "its main interest arose from the

insight which it gave into the deep historical instinct which prompted the founder of the Stuart dynasty, Scotsman and almost foreigner as he was, to ingraft his family and fate on that of the English stock through which he derived his title to the crown." [1]

Henry VIII. had at one time intended himself to be interred in the chapel of his father, but altered his mind in the end and was buried at Windsor, without any monument. His sickly young son, Edward VI., received the first royal Protestant burial-service in the abbey, his Catholic sister, Queen Mary, permitting the service which she knew her young brother would have wished, while she herself held a solemn Requiem Mass in the Tower. Edward VI. was buried to the west of the tomb of his wise grandfather, but has had no other monument than a beautiful Classic altar, erected by Torrigiano, on his grave. This altar had a splendid reredos and a figure of Christ in terra-cotta, which was destroyed in 1643—the only serious destruction in the abbey caused by the Puritan zeal during the Civil War. Part of the marble frieze and two of the original pillars which had been preserved in Oxford have been inserted into the modern altar, giving by their delicate Renaissance sculpture some idea of its pristine beauty.

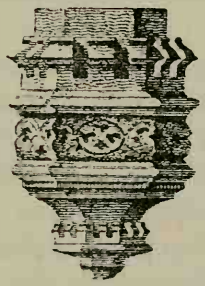
The banners which hang above the canopied stalls belong to the knights of the Order of the Bath, which has its origin in mediæval times, but was not formally

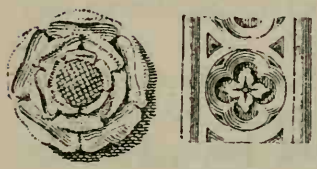
[1] [The soundness of this statement may be questioned. Possibly James did conceive some such idea, but in that case he almost justified Henri IV.'s scathing and unjust description of him as "the wisest fool in Christendom"—for Henry VII. was more Welsh and French in blood than English. Probably James wished to connect himself with the epoch-making Tudor dynasty.—Ed.]

created an actual order till 1725, under George I. Henry VII.'s Chapel was then appointed as the place of installation, the Dean of Westminster being always the dean of the order. The order lapsed from activity during the XIXth century, there being no fresh installation from 1812 till 1913, when King George V. re-inaugurated it, and the tattered banners which had hung in faded glory beneath the fan-vaulted roof were replaced by the gorgeous blazonries of the new knights, forty-six in number to correspond with the stalls in the chapel. The copper plates of the knights, brilliant with their arms, are fixed on the back of the stalls, the lower tier of which have the misericords of the monks, sculptured with the quaint and satirical subjects of the day.

The chapels which surround the apse are remarkable for containing some of the largest and least appropriate to their setting of the monuments in the abbey. Some are so large that they entirely fill the small chapels which they have appropriated to themselves, and the carved stone walls which separate them from the nave have been broken down to admit them. The dedications of the chapels have been lost, but it is thought that three of them were devoted to St. Denis, St. Giles, and St. Ursula.

The first chapel on the southern side contains a huge monument, the canopy supported by enormous bronze figures representing Faith, Hope, Prudence and Charity. It was erected by the Duchess of Richmond and Lennox in memory of her husband, Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, a cousin of James I. and one of his most trusted friends, who died in 1639.





ORNAMENTAL DETAILS OF HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL

Blind tracery with *fleur-de-lis*, an embattled corbel and a Tudor Rose.

In the same vault lies Frances Stuart, the beautiful Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, a pretty tomboy whom Charles II. wished to make his mistress. She was known to her French contemporaries as "La Belle Stuart," and has become familiar to us all through the Britannia on our coins, for whose figure she sat.

The next chapel on the south contains the tomb, with its fine recumbent effigy, of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (died 1881), the Dean of Westminster, famous both as a churchman and historian, and to whom the abbey owes much. The coloured glass in the windows commemorates Lady Augusta Stanley, the wife of the dean, who died in 1876. The Duc de Montpensier (died 1807), whose tomb is against the eastern wall of this chapel, was one of the exiled French princes who found a home in England during the French Revolution. He was son of the notorious Philippe,

Duc d'Orléans ("Philippe Egalité"), and brother of Louis Philippe, afterwards King of France.

The easternmost chapel seems to have been intended for the shrine of Henry VI., for an empty niche has the initials "H.R." cut on the pedestal, which was evidently meant to carry a statue of the king who had come to be considered a saint. The windows contain some of the fragments of the glorious glass which at one time enriched the whole chapel, and was so beautiful that the windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, were to be copied from it. Only one panel remains (now in the east window of the clerestory), showing a bearded man wearing a yellow hat, who may be intended for St. Jerome. Henry VII. in his will desired that the windows should be glazed with stories, images, arms and badges, and it is thought that it was Bernard Flower, the most famous glass-painter of the day, who carried out the royal directions. Some of the heraldic badges are now to be seen in the windows of this empty little side-chapel.

The Coronation Chair, which stands under the window, was made for Queen Mary II., who reigned conjointly with her husband, William III., from 1689 to 1695. The vault under the chapel once contained the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector, his aged mother, his sister, and many of the leading men under the Commonwealth, among them being General Henry Ireton, who married Cromwell's daughter Bridget, John Bradshaw, the President of the Court which condemned Charles I., and Admiral Blake, one of England's greatest naval commanders. Cromwell was buried with great pomp in this most royal of chapels in 1658, the funeral, according

to the Royalist Evelyn, being the "joyfullest" he had ever seen, "for there were none cried but dogs." It is perhaps not surprising that at the Restoration the thought of the regicides occupying honoured places in the royal chapel was too galling to endure, but to the calmer feelings of to-day it seems a somewhat foolishly vindictive act, not only to oust Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw from their quiet vault, but to drag their bodies to Tyburn, and there to hang them, afterwards exposing their grisly heads upon Westminster Hall. One member of the Cromwell family, however, still remains in the chapel, probably because she was buried in a separate vault by herself and so was happily forgotten, Elizabeth Claypole, the favourite daughter of the Protector, whose death at Hampton Court in August 1658 after a painful illness, shortly before that of her father, so affected him that it brought on a low fever which turned to ague, and ended fatally on 3rd September.

The chapel next on the north side contains the monument to John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, who died in 1721, and who is represented in Roman armour, while his sorrowing wife is shown in the dress of her period. She was the illigitimate daughter of James II. by Catherine Sedley, and so proud of her royal association that she kept the anniversary of the death of Charles I. in great state, dressed in deep mourning, "attended by her women in like weeds, in memory of the royal martyr." The agnostic epitaph which the duke wrote himself caused much controversy, the dean striking out some words which he considered inappropriate. The translation runs, "I lived doubtful but not dissolute; I died un-

resolved, not unresigned; ignorance and error are incident to human nature; I trust in an Almighty and all good God. O thou Being of Beings, have compassion on me." History does not quite bear out the duke's complacent opinion of his personal character.

In the last of the chevet of chapels is the very large tomb of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James I., who heaped favours upon his "Steenie," whose arrogance grew with his wealth. In 1628, when preparing to set off with an expedition to relieve the Huguenots in La Rochelle, he was murdered at Portsmouth. The tomb shows the duke and duchess in gilded bronze effigies supported by allegorical figures of Neptune and Mars, the first of such pre-Christian "weepers" to be introduced into the monuments. On the western wall, looking down upon their parents, is a charming little group of the Villiers children, two boys and two girls. One of the boys was killed in the Civil War, the other lived through an adventurous time to return with his royal master, Charles II., and to be known in a dissolute court as the wildest of all the courtiers.

The oak pulpit with its linenfold panelling, standing close to this chapel, belongs to the XVIth century, and is said to be that from which Archbishop Cranmer preached. In the centre of the nave lie George II. and his wife, Caroline of Anspach, without any monument. So great was the affection of the king for the devoted wife who had been his unfailing helper until her death, that he desired that their dust should mingle, in fulfilment of which the sides of the coffins which touched one another were removed. It seems a terrible satire

when it is recollected that both during her life and after it the king habitually consorted with mistresses. He idolised Caroline in a rather brutal fashion, but he did not think that the marriage vow was binding upon royal personages. George II. was the last monarch to be buried at Westminster.

Before entering the south aisle the beautiful bronze gates which close the chapel should be noticed. They were wrought by the same craftsmen who were responsible for the grille round Henry VII.'s tomb, and are rich with the heraldic badges so prominent as a decorative feature throughout the chapel. The square panels show the lions of England; the double roses of Lancaster and York; the crowned portcullis of the Beauforts; the dragon of Cadwallader, the British king from whom Henry VII. claimed descent through his Welsh ancestry; the daisy-root, after his mother's name, Margaret; a crown caught in a bush, referring to the incident at Bosworth Field; a falcon in an open fetterlock, the badge of Edward IV.; and the greyhound of the Nevilles, ancestors of Elizabeth of York.

The south aisle of the chapel, sometimes known as the Margaret Chapel, contains three tombs of great historic interest erected to women of royal blood, one of them being a queen, the last monarch to whom a monument was erected in the abbey. The first is that of Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox, a lady who had a varied and chequered existence through her close connection with the throne. The daughter of a queen, she was yet born in a wild Border tower, her mother, Queen Margaret of Scotland, fleeing into England after her marriage with the Earl of Angus.

G. H.

THE IMPOSING MONUMENT ERECTED BY JAMES I. TO MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, HIS MOTHER

It is in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel (Henry VII.'s) of Westminster Abbey.

Brought up in the court of her uncle, Henry VIII., with the Princess Mary, she was at one time the next heir to the throne when Henry disinherited both his daughters. But in spite of this barren honour, the poor lady spent many years in prison. Her first confinement was because Lord Thomas Howard presumed to love her without the king's consent. The second was due to the fact that Queen Elizabeth suspected her, falsely as it proved, of being connected with plots against her. It is pleasant to know that the unlucky lady was happy in her marriage with Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, but sorrow attacked her through her children. Her eldest son, Lord Darnley, was murdered after his marriage with Mary, Queen of Scots, and her youngest son, Charles, the father of the Lady Arabella Stuart, died of consumption shortly before his unlucky mother ended her days in poverty at Hackney.

Queen Elizabeth gave her cousin a royal funeral in the abbey, but the monument was not raised till her grandson, James I., became King of England, and found himself with three tombs to provide—his royal predecessor, Queen Elizabeth; his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots; and his grandmother. The Lady Margaret's eight children are depicted at the sides of the tomb, the ill-fated Henry looking towards the splendid tomb of his royal wife. A fragment of an iron crown over his head still remains, and serves to remind the observer that though he is always called "Darnley" he was actually King Consort of Scotland.

Mary, Queen of Scots, the most fascinating and perhaps the most unfortunate of a fascinating and unsatisfactory royal line, lies buried under a stately classic monument beneath a canopy supported by

columns, her fine effigy showing delicate features corresponding with those of her portraits. Her head rests on cushions, while the Scottish lion is at her feet and her hands are raised in prayer. Beheaded at Fotheringhay in February 1587, her body was removed to Peterborough Cathedral in August, where it received Christian burial, having remained for six months in one of the rooms in Fotheringhay Castle. Elizabeth was at last roused by the petitions of King James to accord a semi-royal funeral, sending the Countess of Bedford to represent her. At Peterborough Mary's body remained until her son, who had raised a fine tomb to Queen Elizabeth, sent a warrant to the Dean of Peterborough in 1612, stating that he thought it was his duty to do the same for "his dearest mother," and that he therefore "commanded a memorial of her to be made in our church of Westminster, the place the kings and queens of this realm are usually interred; and for that we think it inconvenient that the monument and her body should be in several places, we have ordered that her said body, remaining now interred in that our cathedral church of Peterborough, shall be removed to Westminster." And there she lies to-day, in stately majesty, she who had suffered twenty years of captivity; and yet a queen, as Dr. Johnson said, that "every man of any gallantry of spirit would have sacrificed his life for." Brantôme, her contemporary historian, who had accompanied her from France to Scotland, declared that "no man ever beheld her person without admiration and love, or will read her history without sorrow." At least her son gave her an even finer monument than that raised to the memory of England's virgin queen; for though

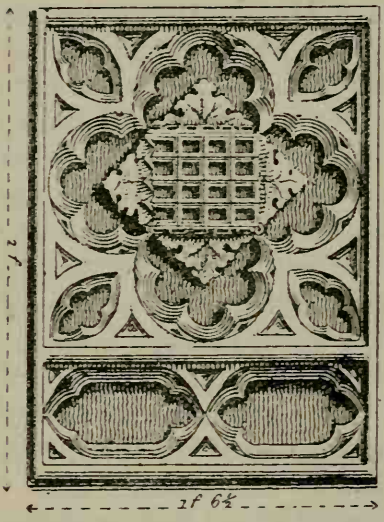
similar in its classic design, its dimensions and elevation are much greater.

Close to Mary's tomb, the last at which miracles are said to have been performed, stands the beautiful monument to Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, to whom her son Henry, the child of her first love, owed so much. She represents the last of the great ladies of the Middle Ages, a lovable and noble woman, helping the poor, and cherishing the learning which was so soon to overthrow the faith to which she was devoted. Two colleges at Cambridge claim her as their founder, and she was also a patroness of Caxton when he set up his printing-press in the Almonry. She died not long after her son, and the same artist was employed for her tomb, effecting an even greater success with her effigy than with those of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. Perhaps even the truculent Florentine had seen or heard enough of her to catch something of the gracious charm of the noble lady whom "everyone that knew her loved her, and everything that she said or did became her."[1] Torrigiano's recumbent effigy of gilded bronze shows Margaret Beaufort clothed in widow's robes, almost conventual in their simplicity, her features well cut and full of benevolent thoughtfulness, while her hands are a veritable *tour-de-force*, so full are they of character and absolutely lifelike in their wrinkled delicacy. On the sides of the tomb are heraldic shields surrounded by wreaths.

In the same vault with Mary, Queen of Scots, lie many youthful Stuarts whose lives were cut short—

[1] Funeral sermon by her chaplain, John Fisher, afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

Henry, Prince of Wales, the eldest son of James I.; Henry, Duke of Gloucester, the young son of Charles I., who died of smallpox soon after the Restoration; Arabella Stuart, the grand-daughter of Margaret, Countess of Lennox, and cousin of King James; many children of James II., and no less than eighteen infant children of Queen Anne! Elizabeth, the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I.; Mary, Princess of Orange, mother of William III.; and Prince Rupert, famous for his dashing deeds during the Civil War and for his work as naval commander and administrator, also lie here. And at the eastern end of the chapel inscriptions state that here are interred three monarchs of England, though they have never been honoured with any memorial: they are Charles II., died 1685; Queen Mary II., the much-loved wife of William III.; William III. himself; and Queen Anne, the last of the ill-fated Stuart line to bear sway over the United Kingdom.



Detail of Ornament of Henry VII.'s Chapel

Showing the portcullis, one of the badges of the Tudors.

On the other side of Henry VII.'s Chapel, in the north aisle, is the tomb of Elizabeth, raised by her successor, James I., who dared not flout the public opinion of the time by leaving the great queen, under

G. H.

THE MAGNIFICENT CANOPIED TOMB OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

It is in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel and is the stateliest of the Renaissance monuments in Westminster Abbey. Owing to its confined space, the dignity and splendour of the tomb is not easily appreciable.

whom England had risen to so commanding a position, without a suitable monument. It is said that nearly every church in the country had a drawing of the queen's tomb hung within it. No expense was spared in erecting the stately classical monument, with its black marble Corinthian pillars supporting the canopy, under which lies the white marble effigy of Queen Elizabeth on a grey marble slab resting on four couchant lions. The autocratic daughter of Henry VIII. is depicted in old age, with the sharp aquiline features familiar in her portraits. By a touch of perhaps unconscious irony her coffin was placed above that of her sister, Mary Tudor, in the same narrow vault. "The sisters," writes Dean Stanley, "are at one; the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and the daughter of Anne Boleyn repose in peace at last." [1] Even James I., with a touch of that curious wisdom which interpenetrated his folly, caused the Latin inscription to be cut on the base of the tomb: "Regno consortes et urna, hic obdorminius Elizabetha et Maria Sorores, in spe resurrectionis."—"Consorts both in throne and grave, here rest we two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, in hope of one resurrection."

The eastern end of the chapel has acquired the name of "Innocents' Corner," from the memorials to two little daughters of James I. and the urn containing the bones of the young Edward V. and his

[1] [It is fair to say that Mary and Elizabeth do not seem to have disliked one another. They were not seldom on friendly terms, except at the time of Wyatt's rebellion—and for this Mary's advisers, not Mary herself, were responsible. Elizabeth's feelings were well under control, but she may rather have pitied her unfortunate half-sister, and Mary seems to have regarded Elizabeth with kindness. They were hardly personal enemies at any time.—ED.]

brother Richard, who perished in the Tower, the victims of the jealousy of their uncle, Richard III. A workman when making an alteration to a staircase in the reign of Charles II. discovered some bones, and as they appeared to be those of two boys of about the age of the unhappy princes, it was concluded that they must have been buried there secretly. Charles II. ordered the removal of the remains to the abbey-church, in whose precincts the young uncrowned king had been born. The urn, designed by Sir Christopher Wren, stands in a niche in the wall, and in front of it are the two monuments, side by side, of the infant daughters of James I. The Princess Sophia, who only lived a few days, is shown as an infant lying in a cradle, with the hanging drapery edged with lace cut in alabaster. Beside her, in a small altar-tomb, lies the Princess Mary, who died in 1607 when only two years and six months old. She was a beautiful little child, whose death-bed scene was touchingly described in her funeral sermon. The tiny child, who had not long learned to speak, lay silent till she sighed out, "I go, I go, away I go."

The North Ambulatory

On descending the steps of the vestibule leading to Henry VII.'s Chapel there is on the right the North Ambulatory, which contains the chapels of St. Paul, St. John the Baptist, and the Islip Chapel.

The Chapel of St. Paul. The beautiful screen of St. Paul's Chapel was partly destroyed in order to erect the massive monument to William Pulteney,

Earl of Bath (died 1764), who is chiefly remembered in the annals of the abbey for the disturbance which occurred at his torchlight funeral. The mob broke into the building, and such confusion arose that the canopy over Edward I.'s tomb was destroyed by those who climbed into the Confessor's Chapel and defended themselves with the broken rafters. A portion of the screen of the chapel has fortunately been preserved, as it formed an integral part of the remarkable Gothic tomb of Ludovick Robsert (died 1431), and of his wife, Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Sir Bartholomew Bourchier. The outstanding feature of this fine free-stone tomb are the stone barriers at each end of the canopy, displaying the arms of Robsert and Bourchier—a lion for Robsert, and a cross engrailed between four water-bougets for Bourchier. These standards recall the fact that Robsert, who was a native of Hainault, so distinguished himself upon the field of Agincourt that he was appointed the king's standard-bearer.

The interior of the chapel is dominated by the monstrous statue of James Watt, which is only suitable for some great open space. However valuable the services of the improver of the steam-engine may have been to mankind, no one can look upon this colossus by Chantrey without expressing surprise that it should have been admitted within the portals of the abbey. But the early XIXth century delighted in mere size, and the difficulty of conveying so gigantic a statue into its destined position was not considered an insuperable task. The pedestal was pulled over Robsert's tomb (one is amazingly grateful to think that it was not destroyed for the purpose), and the statue was somehow wedged in through the door, the weight,

however, being such that the vaulting below gave way, displaying many coffins beneath.

One is glad to see that the admirers of Sir Rowland Hill (died 1879), the originator of the penny post, were satisfied with putting up a small bust, which can be seen at the back of Pulteney's monument.

The serenity of the chapel is so much disturbed by the presence of the worthy James Watt, that one can scarcely see the other memorials which line the walls, two of which are to men who were associated with the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. Sir Thomas Bromley acted as President at the trial, which so effected him that he died soon after her execution, while Sir John Puckering was also connected with the mockery which passed as a trial at Fotheringhay.

In the centre of the chapel stands an altar-tomb bearing the alabaster effigies of Sir Giles Daubenay (died 1507) and his wife Elizabeth. Sir Giles, who is represented in plate armour, wearing the insignia of the Order of the Garter, was Lord-Lieutenant of Calais under Henry VII.

The Chapel of St. John the Baptist. The original opening to the chapel of St. John the Baptist is now closed by a tomb, so that one enters by a side vestibule, which was once a small chapel. Until quite recently this vestibule chapel was known as that of St. Erasmus, owing to a confusion created by the name Sanctus Erasmus painted over the doorway. The abbey at one time possessed a chapel dedicated to the martyred Bishop of Campania, which had been founded by Elizabeth Woodville, the queen of Edward IV., in gratitude for the kindness shown her during her enforced stay in the sanctuary in 1471, while her hus-

band was in exile. This building, which adjoined the first Lady Chapel, was destroyed when Henry VII.'s splendid edifice was founded, and the image and canopy of St. Erasmus were then placed over the vestibule door, when the name was doubtless painted. At the Reformation the image suffered the usual fate of "superstitious idols," leaving the name alone, which has led to the supposition that the tiny chapel was dedicated to St. Erasmus. Through the patient study of Mr. Westlake it is now certain that the true dedication is to "Our Lady of the Pew"—pew indicating a railed enclosure. Mary, Countess of Pembroke, the widow of Aymer de Valence, founded this little chantry near her husband's tomb, and when she died, about 1327, left money for the chanting of Masses for the good of de Valence's soul. It is still possible to see something of the painting which once covered the chapel, and even the hooks which secured the alabaster image of the Blessed Virgin to its pedestal.

Three of the xvth-century abbots are buried within the chapel of St. John the Baptist, the oldest being William de Colchester, who died at the age of eighty-two, having ruled the brethren longer than any other abbot. He was a man of great character, whose shrewd judgment was valued by the three kings under whom he lived. Much of his time was spent in travelling on the Continent on various missions, notably as one of the English delegates at the Council of Constance, but in spite of these journeys he did not neglect his work as abbot. Henry IV. suspected him of taking part in a conspiracy with the Earls of Huntingdon, Rutland, Kent, and Salisbury, after the deposition of Richard II.,

and sent him to the Tower, releasing him, however, after a short detention. The suspicious usurper presently grew to respect him, and his son, Henry V., valued him highly. The abbot is shown in effigy upon a freestone altar-tomb, of which the canopy has been destroyed. The tomb was once highly painted, the effigy still retaining some colour, though it has suffered considerable injury. Another representation of the abbot can be seen on the sculptured frieze to Henry V.'s chantry chapel, where the coronation scene shows William de Colchester, in cope and mitre, on the left hand of the king.

Abbot Thomas Millyng (died 1492), who was godfather to little King Edward V., lies in a Purbeck marble coffin which, until a short time ago, was placed above the table-tomb of Abbot Fascet, but which now stands at the east end, near the vast monument to Henry Cary, Lord Hunsdon, the cousin of Queen Elizabeth.

Abbot George Fascet (died 1500), who only held his high office for two years, rests in a canopied table-tomb bearing his arms and those of the abbey in colours which have recently been brought to light again by cleaning, so that we can now see the actual tinctures on the shields as well as the green leaves in the spandrels of the canopy. There is no effigy, but we are reminded of the abbot who had had the privilege of paying King Henry VII. for the proposed honour of receiving the body of his ancestor, Henry VI., by the cipher of his initials on the canopy. There are two other mediæval tombs of interest, one to Sir Thomas Vaughan, who was treasurer to Edward IV., and beheaded by order of Richard III. in 1483, and the other, a small monument, commemorating the

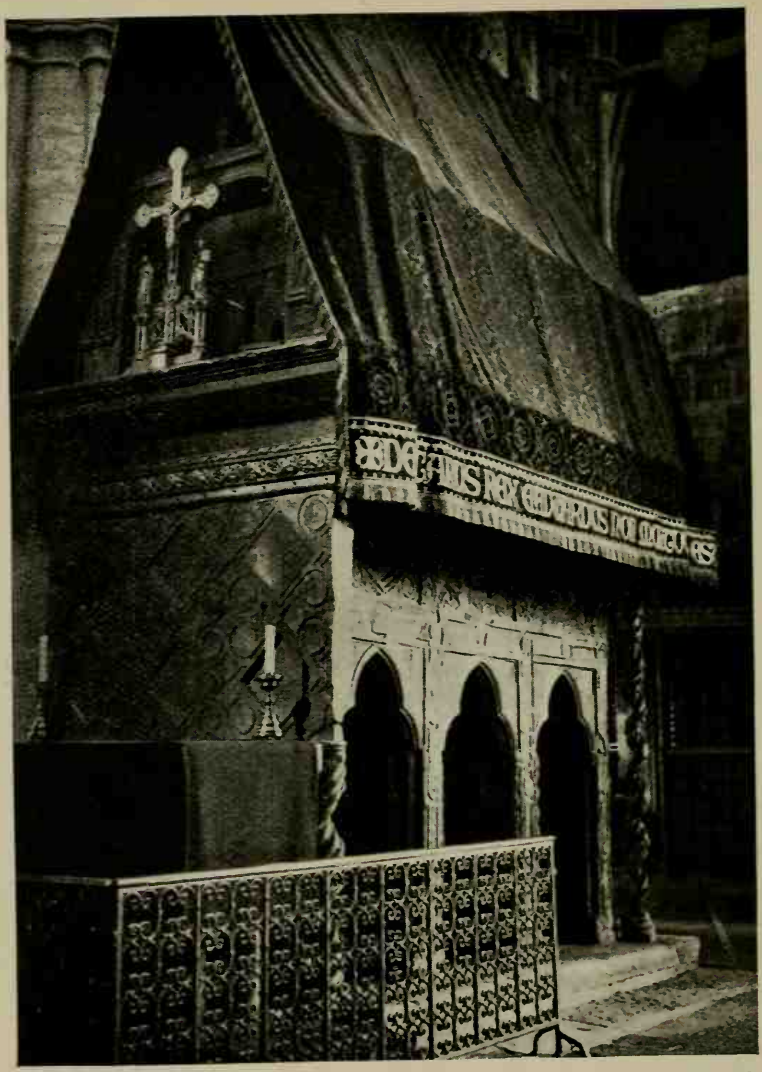
children of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, which had once stood in the Confessor's Chapel, being moved when Richard II. erected the tomb to Anne of Bohemia. The centre of the chapel holds the large altar-tomb of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, the eldest son of Lord Burleigh. He lies beside his first wife, Dorothy Nevill; and their effigies surmount it, with an empty space left for that of his second wife, Frances Brydges. It was never filled; the second countess preferred to rest elsewhere, possibly because her name had already been cut upon the inscription which runs round the monument.

THE ISLIP CHAPEL, which adjoins that of St. John the Baptist, was built in the Late Perpendicular period by Abbot John Islip, of whom mention has already been made as one of the greatest of the rulers of Westminster, and under whom the last building in the abbey-church was undertaken. He saw the nave completed, and the western towers erected as high as the roof-line. The whole of Henry VII.'s Chapel was finished before his death in 1532, while he had added rooms to the abbot's house, built the gallery in the nave, and erected this chantry chapel which bears his name. On the frieze of the fine stone screen which separates the chapel from the ambulatory may be observed the abbot's rebus in two forms—a man slipping from the branch of a tree (="I slip"), and also an eye with a hand holding a slip. The recent cleaning process has disclosed the vivid tints of the eye and the brilliant red breeches of the man who is slipping from the bright green tree. The chapel had two altars. Only a fragment of Islip's tomb which once stood in the centre remains. The abbot's effigy

lay upon a slab of black marble. What remains of the tomb now stands under the window, shorn of much of the dignity due to the ecclesiastical ruler who had played so important a part in the abbey's history. The upper part of the chapel is now occupied by the wax effigies which are described in the following chapter.

The Eastern Aisle of the North Transept, which was at one time divided into three chapels, though not strictly part of the north ambulatory, must be included in this chapter, as they can no longer be approached from the transept, being shut off by the statues and monuments which fill the space between the bays. The screens which separated the chapels, once dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, St. Michael, and St. Andrew, have long been removed, and there is no longer any differentiation in the aisle, which is devoted to monuments of varying degrees of interest. Abbot Esteney's screen, a beautiful specimen of xvth-century work, "finely carved, gilt, and adorned with arms of several of our nobility," was swept away in the enthusiasm for the Battle of Quebec in 1759, where General James Wolfe had fallen at the moment of victory. The reader will recall that Dean Zachary Pearce actually wished to insert this inappropriate monument into the sanctuary in place of the beautiful one of Aymer de Valence, so that greatly as one regrets the screen, it seems a slight loss in comparison with what might have been but for the protest of Horace Walpole.

There are not many tombs which need detain us in these former chapels, but there are three which should not be missed. In St. John the Evangelist's Chapel (the nearest to the ambulatory) there is a very



P. H.

THE SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

In the Chapel of St. Edward in Westminster Abbey. It is the work of Italian craftsmen brought to London by Abbot Ware in the XIIIth century.

striking monument to Sir Francis Vere, who belonged to the family of the Earls of Oxford, and was perhaps the greatest of the Elizabethan warriors (Queen Bess's "Chickens of Mars,") who gained glory in the Netherlands fighting for the Protestant cause against the Spaniards. The monument, which resembles one to a Count of Nassau at Breda, shows the famous warrior lying on a slab of black marble, while four kneeling knights support another black marble shelf as a canopy, on which rest representations of the armour of the period, as worn by Vere in the field.

In St. Michael's Chapel is a monument which always proves attractive to the average sightseer, who gazes in wonder at the ingenuity of the sculptor, Roubilliac. His sculpture represents Death aiming a deadly shaft at the Lady Elizabeth Nightingale, whose husband endeavours to shield her. The vergers never fail to inform the visitors of the story that a robber, prowling one moonlight night in the abbey for evil purposes, was so aghast at the awesome figure of Death that dropping his tools, he fled in terror.

Beyond this theatrical monument, considered by John Wesley as the finest in the church, the "one tomb which showed commonsense," is the stately memorial to Henry, Lord Norris, another of Elizabeth's "Chickens of Mars," who died in 1601. He was much favoured by Queen Elizabeth on account of his father, who had been executed by Henry VIII., protesting the innocence of Anne Boleyn. On a sarcophagus, in which he lies with his wife Margaret, are their effigies, under a canopy supported by Corinthian pillars, while their six sons, wearing the armour and trunk-hose of the period, kneel on cushions around their parents. Camden

writes of these sons as "a brood of martial-spirited men," a saying borne out by the fact that four died in battle, only one surviving his father.

The Waxen Effigies

Before the days of cheap and popular entertainments, the wax effigies in the abbey were not only an especial attraction for the general public, but one of the sources by which the scanty incomes of the singing-men of the choir were augmented. Since about 1825, however, the members of the choir have received fixed stipends, irrespective of fees, and the visitors no longer regard the funereal waxen counterfeits of the monarchs with that mixture of awe and excitement with which the more ignorant sightseer of bygone days, uninformed by illustrated papers or cinematograph pictures, used to gaze at the lifelike representations of certain great personages.

Time has wrought much havoc among many of the effigies; there are still a few to be seen, in somewhat shabby splendour, in the room above the Islip Chapel, recalling the days when an effigy of the king remained on his funeral hearse for many months.

Until the time of Henry III. the embalmed body of the sovereign was placed upon the bier, so that all might see the actual features and have proof that the king was dead in very truth. For Henry V. the representation was made of boiled leather, worked into shape, the face being then painted. The figure dressed in royal robes and adorned with the crown and sceptre, was borne on the coffin when the splendid and richly-

coloured funeral procession of the popular warrior-king passed slowly and solemnly from France to London. This figure was still on view in 1658, but its subsequent fate is not known.

Stow records seeing this effigy, together with that of Katherine of Valois, Henry's queen, and besides these he mentions those of Edward III. and Queen Philippa, of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, of Queen Elizabeth, of James I. and Anne of Denmark, and of Henry, Prince of Wales, the son of James I. All these effigies were made of wood, usually padded with hay and then covered with canvas, the head being modelled sometimes in plaster. Some of these rather ghastly-looking relics reduced now to wooden cores are preserved in the abbey museum in the Norman Undercroft.

The effigies, robed in all the regal panoply of the dead monarch, were kept at one time close to the royal tombs, but subsequently were removed to the wainscot presses in the Islip Chapel, where Dryden wrote of them:

> And now the presses open stand
> And you may see them all a-row.

A gruesome account is given of them in 1708, which describes them in all the horror of decay.

James I. was the last monarch to have a genuine funeral effigy, which was well and carefully made by Maximilian Coult, whose account for the making records that the figure was jointed, "the armes, leggs and body to be moved to several postures," and also that he had made a journey to Theobalds,[1] "for the moulding of the king's face for ye better makeing."

[1] [James I. died at the royal seat of Theobalds in Hertfordshire, which was razed to the ground in the Interregnum.—Ed.]

Inigo Jones is said to have designed the catafalque with its caryatides made of plaster of Paris.

Of the wax effigies to be seen to-day above the Islip Chapel only eleven remain. The oldest of these, and perhaps the most interesting, is that of Charles II., who stares gloomily from his glass case, his swarthy features, dark eyes, and thin sneering lips, presenting a lifelike picture of the man whose chequered life had swept from him all faith, whether in the integrity of man or the honour of women.

The figures of William III. and his royal consort, Queen Mary, are in one case, each of them holding an orb and sceptre, while the crown, shared by them both, rests on a pedestal between them.

Stout Queen Anne, wearing her crown, and wearing robes much laden with large pearls, complacently smiles at the spectators, looking placid and good-natured.

Queen Elizabeth, whose effigy presented so ghastly an appearance in 1708, was renewed in 1760, when the choir was given permission to make another figure. Her features bear a remarkable resemblance to that of the marble effigy on her tomb in Henry VII.'s Chapel, the aquiline nose and prominent cheek-bones being well portrayed.

The Duchess of Richmond ("La Belle Stuart") once stood near her grave, for which she had given orders before her death, explicitly stating that her effigy was to be made "as well done in wax as can be." A grey parrot is perched beside her, in memory of a much-loved pet who had lived for forty years, and only survived a few days after the death of its mistress.

The last genuine effigy which was used for the funeral and stood beside the grave was that of Catherine

Duchess of Buckinghamshire, the illegitimate daughter of James II. She is shown with her little boy, the Marquis of Normanby, dressed in the robes worn at the coronation of George II. The recumbent effigy of her eldest son, Edmund Sheffield, who succeeded her father and became the last Duke of Buckinghamshire, is in the case near his mother. He had died in Rome in 1735, his body being brought home for burial in the abbey.

General Monk, whose part in the Restoration caused him to be raised to the peerage as Duke of Albemarle, had been honoured by a splendid funeral, and an effigy encased in armour had been erected beside his grave. To-day there is only the mere skeleton of an effigy sufficient to support the historic armour, his ducal cap of estate, in which the vergers used to collect the offering of the visitors, being lost. Reference is made to this cap in the *Ingoldsby Legends*, when a man finds himself alone in the abbey:

I thought on Naseby — Marston Moor — on Worcester's "crowning fight";
When on mine ear a sound there fell—it chilled me with affright,
As thus in low unearthly tones I heard a voice begin,
—"This here's the cap of General Monk!—Sir!—please put summat in!"

Apparently visitors did not fail to put "summat" in the famous cap, for the choir found the waxen figures paid them well, sufficiently indeed to induce them to add other effigies to their show, supplying representations of famous men. That of Lord Chatham, made purely for the show, was so popular that the fee was raised from threepence to sixpence, the guide-book of the day asserting that it held the first place

among such wax figures "ever seen in this or any other country."

When Lord Nelson was buried in St. Paul's, and the funeral car on which his coffin had been carried was exhibited there, the sight-seeing crowd began to desert the abbey, until the officials conceived the business-like notion of making a wax figure of the great admiral, dressed in clothes which he had actually worn. This scheme proved quite efficacious, and the populace returned with their sixpences to the abbey.

The South Ambulatory

The Chapel of St. Benedict. The first of the chevet of chapels opening from the ambulatory which surrounds St. Edward the Confessor's Chapel is that of St. Benedict, dedicated to the saint who founded the great rule or order to which the monastery of Westminster belonged. St. Benedict was born towards the close of the vth century, in a small town on the slopes of the Apennine Mountains. The holiness of his reputation prevented his achieving the solitary life which was his great desire, for the country folk crowded to him, seeking his advice on the religious life, till he was forced into organising the monastic order which bears his name.

The oldest tomb in this chapel is that of Abbot Curtlington (1315–1334), whose remains were buried before the former altar, but there is no monument. On the northern side, near the ambulatory, lies Simon Langham, who after being Abbot of Westminster became Bishop of Ely, then Archbishop of Canterbury, and finally a cardinal. As has already

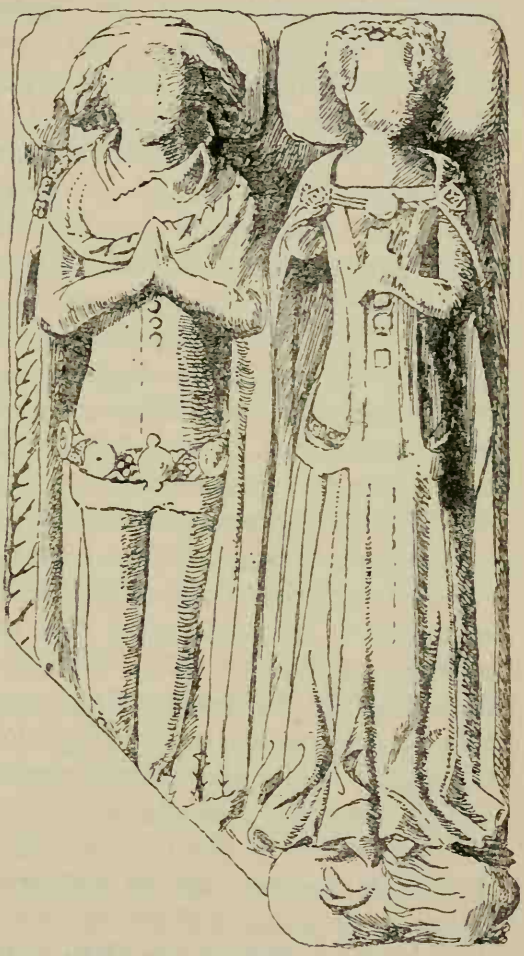
been noticed, it was his munificence which enabled the succeeding abbots to begin the work of finishing the nave, though much of the money left by him for that purpose was used by Litlyngton to rebuild the abbot's house. Cardinal Langham died at Avignon in 1376, but at his especial request was buried in the abbey under a fine alabaster tomb, the richest of any ecclesiastical monument within the church. Where the altar originally stood is the large monument of Frances, Countess of Hertford, who as daughter-in-law of Protector Somerset doubtless had small reverence for the ancient church which it is said he contemplated destroying. Three Anglican deans have memorials in the chapel—Dr. Bill, who died in 1561; Dr. Gabriel Goodman (died 1601), who was dean for forty years, and under whom the Anglican services were fully established; and Dr. William Vincent, who died in 1815. The fine tomb in the centre of the chapel is that of Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex: it bears the effigies of himself and his wife, Anne. Cranfield is one of the many unworthy personages whose influence has procured them a grave among the honoured dead of England's "Valhalla." He was Treasurer of England during the latter part of the reign of James I., and was swept out of office on a charge of corruption.

In the ambulatory, just opposite the chapel, is the recessed tomb known traditionally as that of King Sebert of Essex, the reputed founder of the VIIth-century church on Thorney Island. The tomb itself is obviously of the XIVth century, while the decoration at the back, with its Yorkist badge, belongs to the time of Edward IV. The space between the chapels of St.

Benedict and St. Edmund holds a small altar-tomb, once richly decorated, and still retaining the marble mosaic top, though the painting at the back of the recess can no longer be distinguished. The monument was raised by Henry III. in memory of his beloved little daughter, Katherine, who died in 1257, and who was deaf and dumb. Four other children of Henry and three of Edward I. are also buried beneath it.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. EDMUND contains some beautiful mediæval tombs. Being dedicated to the martyred King of East Anglia, it was regarded as next in sanctity to that of St. Edward the Confessor, and consequently became the mausoleum of several members of the Plantagenet line, and of personages connected with it. The finest tomb is that of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (died 1296), the half-brother of Henry III. through the second marriage of John's widow, Isabella of Angoulème, with Hugh de Lusignan, Count of la March and Poitiers. This tomb, which was thoroughly foreign in workmanship, was raised by William's son Aymer, who lies himself under a beautiful Gothic tomb in the sanctuary. The stone basement still retains the carved heraldic arms of England and de Valence, but the oak chest above has been almost stripped bare and the three "weepers" which once adorned the sides have vanished. Upon the chest lies the wonderful enamelled effigy of the earl, made at Limoges, then famous for such craftsmanship. Though this beautiful work of art has suffered much from time and human agency, the splendour of the enamel can be judged from the remains still to be seen on the cushion under the earl's head, on part of his armour, and particularly on the shield, bearing the

arms of De Valence, barry, azure and argent, with an orle of martlets, which has been well preserved. William de Valence scarcely deserves so splendid a monument, for his arrogance to the land which had given him shelter caused endless disputes, the English barons rising in revolt against the king, who supported his turbulent relatives. Though often banished, de Valence always returned when the royal power was in the ascendant, in spite of the fact that he was even accused of poisoning the guests at a farewell banquet given at Winchester.



THE VERY SMALL EFFIGIES OF WILLIAM OF WINDSOR AND BLANCHE OF THE TOWER Children of Edward III.

Prince John of Eltham, the second son of Edward II., lies near De Valence on the opposite side of the

doorway leading into the chapel. He was only twenty years old when he died in 1336, but he had already seen considerable fighting on the Scottish border, commanding one of the divisions of the army at the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, and had even acted as regent of the kingdom when Edward III. was absent. One feels that Fuller was probably correct in speaking of this gallant young prince as "a spritely gentleman, who would have given greater evidence of abilities if not prevented by death in the prime of his age." The monument seems to express the grief of his royal brother, for it is extremely beautiful, though considerably damaged, the fascinating little "weepers" representing the royal connections of the prince having specially suffered. The alabaster effigy of the prince shows him in full armour, particularly interesting for the faithful representation of the detail of the mixed mail and plate armour of the period.

Adjoining Prince John of Eltham's sepulchre is a tiny memorial to his little niece and nephew, the infant children of Edward III., William of Windsor and Blanche of the Tower, who died in 1340. The diminutive effigies, only twenty inches long, show the style of the Plantagenet dress of the XIVth century.

The finest brass in the abbey is to be seen on the low altar-tomb of Eleanor de Bohun in the centre of the chapel, between that of Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of York, and Mary, Countess of Stafford, who died in 1694. Eleanor de Bohun, the eldest daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, last Earl of Hereford, was renowned as the wealthiest heiress in England, and became the wife of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III. Her

husband, who must be admitted to have deserved his fate to some extent, was murdered by the orders of his uncle, Richard II., after which Eleanor entered Barking Abbey as a nun. When she died in 1399 she was buried in this chapel. The brass portrays her in widow's dress of a flowing tunic to her feet under a loose mantle. The swan, the badge of the De Bohun's (so much used in the chantry of Henry V.), can be seen on the outer edge of the brass.

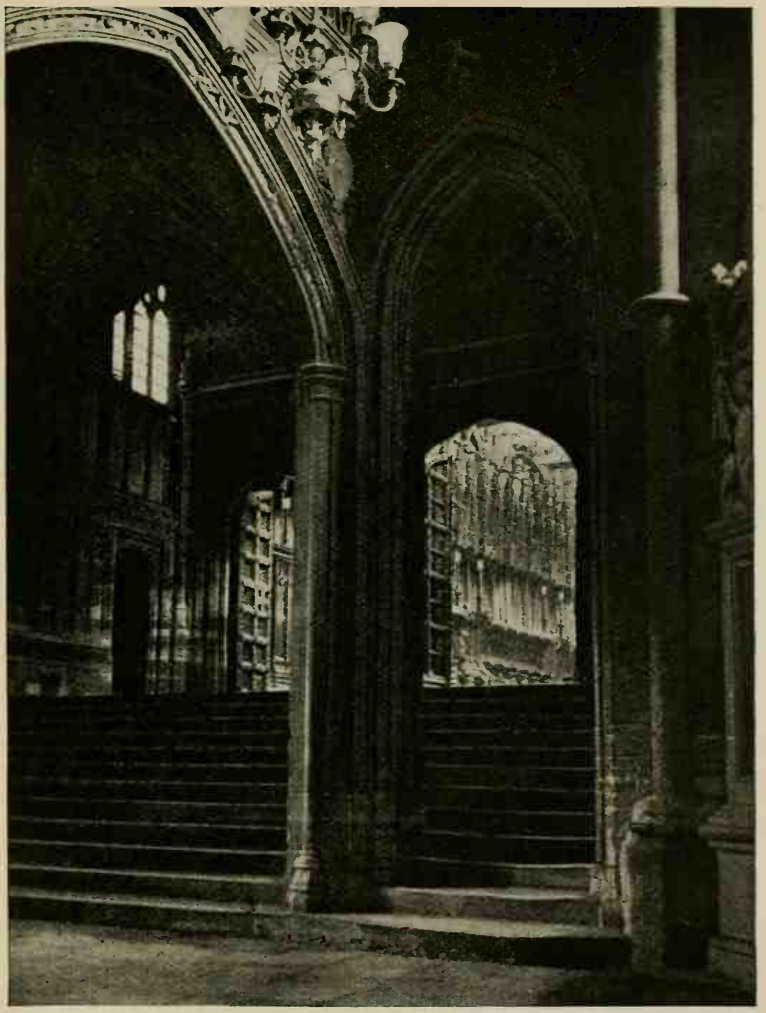
There is not space to describe at length the other interesting monuments in this chapel, although mention must be made of the tomb of Sir Bernard Brocas (died 1396); of the stately memorial to Frances Grey, Duchess of Suffolk, the mother of Lady Jane Grey; of Elizabeth Russell, who died of consumption when only twenty-six, and whose finger pointing to a skull was the origin of Addison's story that she died of a prick of a needle; and of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who lies under a dignified Jacobean monument.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS. A fine Perpendicular stone screen separates the chapel of St. Nicholas from the ambulatory. As St. Nicholas was the patron saint of children, it is disappointing to find that only one child is buried there—Nicholas Bagenall, an unlucky (or lucky) infant whose life in this world was limited to two months. He had the misfortune to have a careless nurse, for the epitaph informs us that he was "by his nurs unfortunately overlayd."

The earliest burial in the chapel was that of Philippa, Duchess of York, who died in 1433. She now lies close to the screen, but her tomb was originally in the centre of the chapel under a canopy of wood, richly painted

"with azure and decked with stars of gold," which has long vanished. The stone effigy of the duchess, who is shown in widow's dress, has been much injured. She was the daughter of John, Lord Mohun, and married as her second husband Edward, second Duke of York, who died at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415, not actually of wounds, but of heart failure due to desperate exertion. Edward of York was not a very creditable personage; his death was more honourable than his life.

There are other great ladies buried in this chapel beneath imposing tombs—Anne Seymour, Duchess of Somerset, the widow of Protector Somerset, who died at the age of ninety in 1587; Mildred, wife of the famous Lord Burleigh, who erected the monument to his wife and daughter, "dear to him beyond the whole race of womankind"; and the Duchess of Northumberland (died 1776), whose funeral by torch-light brought about a great tumult in the abbey, many persons being injured by the collapse of the canopy above Prince John of Eltham's tomb, on which they had climbed.



G. H.

THE SHADOWY STAIRWAY LEADING TO HENRY VII.'S CHAPEL

It is the finest approach to any Lady Chapel existing, for by ascending through semi-darkness the splendours beyond are greatly enhanced.

CHAPTER IV

DOMESTIC OFFICES OF THE ABBEY

The Convent of St. Peter at Westminster was under the rule of St. Benedict, one of the most austere of saints, who practised upon himself nearly all forms of rigid monasticism. But the rule which he framed, and which is known by his name, was gentle and easy in comparison with the severities of the religious solitaries of his day, being based upon his knowledge of human weakness. He had first planned his monasteries as homes for simple folk, used to the country life, who wanted to serve God apart from the temptations of the outer world, and thus conceived of a family all working together, tilling the fields, under an abbot or father. The early monasteries contained a far larger proportion of lay brothers than in later days, when nearly all the brethren were priests, or in preparation for the priesthood.

St. Benedict did not encourage the practice of harsh personal asceticism, but impressed upon the brethren the dignity of all work if carried out with honest industry, God being equally served by the toiler in the field as in the student's cell.

St. Augustine brought the Benedictine Rule to England, establishing the first monastery at Canterbury; and it is thought that the very earliest monks in West-

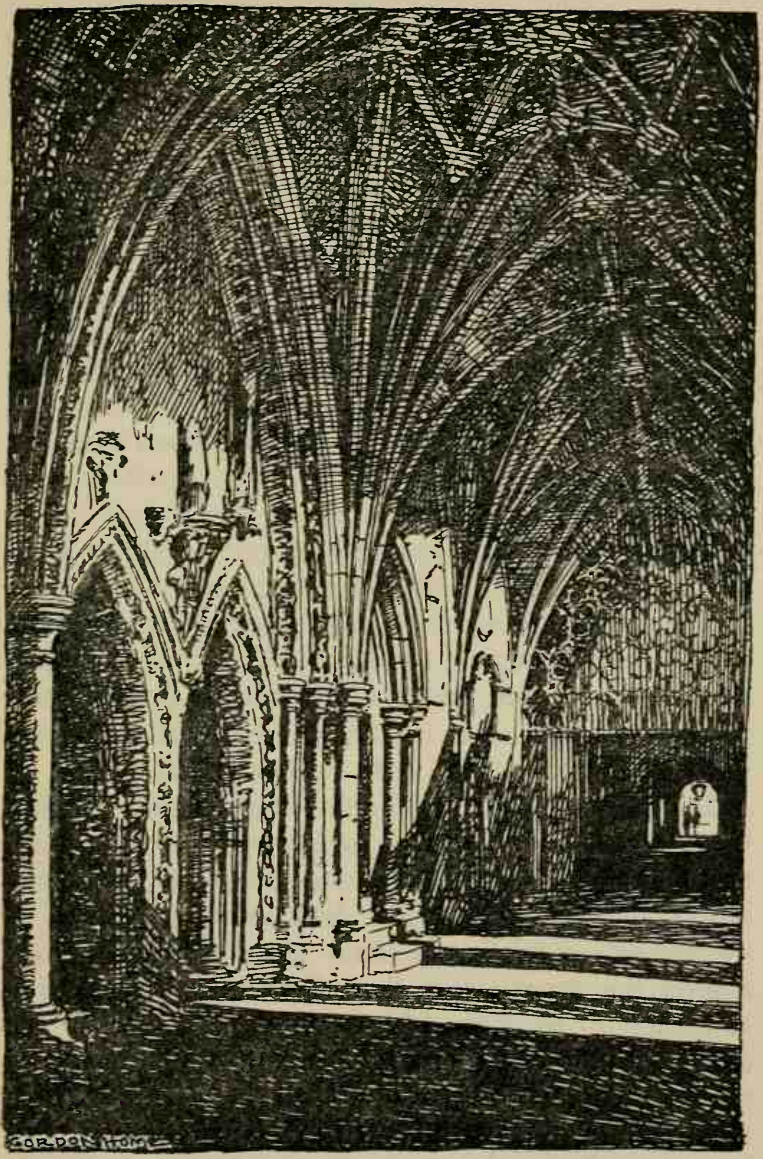
minster in the VIIIth century belonged to the same rule, which proved to be the most suited to the English temperament, Benedictine monasteries rapidly springing up all over the country.

At first the management of a monastery was in the hands of four officials only—the abbot, the prior, the cellarer and the porter; but as the centuries passed more and more officers were appointed till in the end Westminster had no less than thirty-three posts to be filled, thus giving opportunity for many of the brethren to learn something of the duties of an administrator. Every official had to present his accounts for the expenditure of his office once a year at Michaelmas; and from these account rolls, over three thousand of which remain among the muniments at Westminster, it is possible to picture with some exactitude the various occupations of the brethren and the way in which the income of the abbey was administered. Apart from the account rolls there is the Customary of Abbot Ware, which gives minute detail of all that was expected from a monk at Westminster, both as regards his behaviour and his work, at all hours of the day.

The income of the abbey consisted largely of estates, some lying near at hand as at Battersea and Wandsworth, while others were as far away as Pershore in Worcestershire,[1] or Islip near Oxford. Each office had its own income derived from special estates, and its expenditure was expected to be within the limits of that income, which varied considerably owing to bad harvests or the failure of rents.

The abbot originally slept with his monks in the same dormitory, and had meals with them in the

[1] See the volume on Worcester and Malvern in this series.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

A beautiful example of Early English architecture.

refectory; but by the XIIth century he was no longer living in quite such a fatherly manner, having withdrawn to his own private lodging, where he partook of his meals alone.

Of the prior, upon whom fell most of the active supervision of the brethren but who had no money to disburse, less is known in detail than of those lesser officials whose careful accounts seem to bring the man before one's eyes. The sacrist, for instance, who held a most important office, being responsible for the repairs of the fabric of the church, comes out vividly when one finds him troubled with such mundane things as the driving off from the church roof of the crows and pigeons which were desirous of building nests, or the clearing away of snow, or the buying of imitation pearls for the abbot's mitre.

The chamberlain's duty was to provide the clothing of the monks, paying the tailor, skinner and barber; while the treasurer, who was responsible for the complete outfit of a novice, had to supply all the grain needed for the convent, both for bread and beer.

Dean Stanley laments the fact that so much of the time of the abbots was taken up with trivial matters and that there is not one among the abbots "who can aspire to higher historical honour than that of a munificent builder and able administrator," while among the monks only five of them "have slightly contributed to our historical knowledge of the times." But it may well be contended that many of the abbots rose above the level of a mere "able administrator," no mean gift in itself, becoming notable men whose advice was sought by the monarch, such as Cardinal Langham, William de Colchester,

and John Islip, while it must always be remembered that it was no part of the rule of St. Benedict that his monasteries should turn out learned theologians, but rather that they should be "schools for God's service."

Westminster is fortunate in still possessing, in spite of the vicissitudes of fortune brought about by the Dissolution and the Civil War, a great part of the conventual buildings which were so essential to the monastic life. Cloister, chapter-house, dormitory (though now turned to other uses), and abbot's house can be seen to-day, giving a fuller idea of the general conditions of the Benedictine community than can be found in other existing abbey-churches. The cloister walks, which are often regarded to-day as mere draughty passages, saw much of the daily life of the monks. They were a scene of industry both for the novices and the more learned of the brethren.

The Confessor's cloister was probably only partially rebuilt by Henry III., but the pre-Conquest portions may have been badly damaged if not quite destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1298, which consumed dormitory, refectory, infirmary and abbot's house. The poverty of the abbey owing to this calamity prevented rapid rebuilding, which explains the different styles of the architecture to be observed in the cloister walks. The oldest part is the northern corner of the eastern walk, which alone escaped the fire, and which is therefore of the same date as the church. The southern end of the same walk was built by Abbot Byrcheston, who died of the Black Death in 1349, and is buried in the cloister under a plain stone. His windows show the richness of the Decorated period. The south and west walks were rebuilt by Abbot Litlyngton, while

the north walk was continued in the same style as that of the nave, which was then being rebuilt.

The eastern walk was reserved for the use of the abbot, who sat in state, the brethren rising and bowing as he passed them, in the corner nearest to the entrance into the church. It was in this walk that the abbot observed the custom of Maundy Thursday, when he washed the feet of thirteen poor men, "who were appointed to come to the cloister having their feet clean washed." Having washed the feet, wiped them with a towel and kissed them, the abbot bestowed money upon the men and served them with food and beer. This ceremony is still kept up, though in more symbolic form, the actual washing and drying of the feet being reduced to the wearing of white scarves in token of the towels. A number of poor men, corresponding with the age of the king, and the same number of poor women, gather in the abbey on Maundy Thursday, where a distribution of money is made to them, two members of the Yeomen of the Guard carrying a golden alms-dish filled with little bags tied with long ribbons containing the royal bounty.

The north cloister was the warmest and most pleasant of the walks, for it caught all the southern sunshine, and was built on a more lofty scale than the others for this purpose. It was used for study by those monks who felt they could benefit the convent by their work, and it also held the library, the bookcases being fastened to the wall of the church. There seems little doubt that, though unglazed at first, the cloister windows were later on filled with glass at the top and that some kind of wooden frame filled with coloured glass was fitted into the lower part.

THE MAUNDY MONEY DISTRIBUTION IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Yeomen of the Guard bring in the bags containing the royal gifts, each tied with long ribbons.

By permission of the "Daily Graphic."

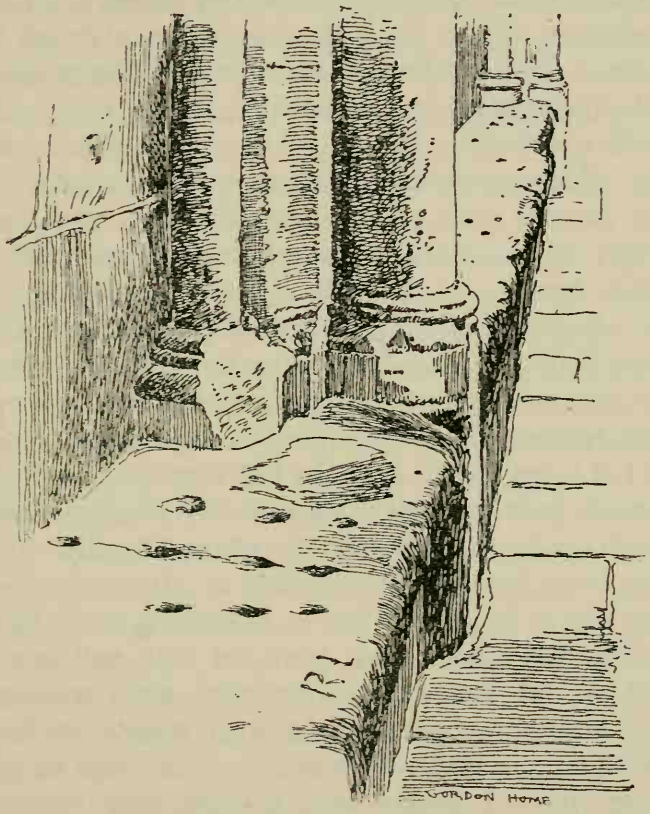
The west walk, from which one obtains a good view over the garth, seeing the south transept and the conical roof of the chapter-house, was the house of the earliest Westminster School. Here the novices sat with their master, who had been selected as "fitted for winning souls," and learnt how to become good and obedient monks. Any kind of jokes were forbidden while the serious work of learning the various offices and the psalter by heart was being carried on.

The lads, sitting one behind the other, were taught to chant and received instruction in the various special customs of the abbey, as well as in all the elaborate details of the offices which they would be required to know.

The south walk was begun by Langham in 1351, his work being continued by Abbot Litlyngton, who inserted his monogram, which can be seen on some of the bosses of the vaulted roof. Up to the middle of the XIIIth century the abbots were content to be buried in the cloister, eight of them lying under the south walk. They were moved from the centre of the walk to their present position under the stone bench during the XVIIIth century. The three effigies which remain are those of Abbot Laurence (died 1175), Abbot Gilbert Crispin (died 1117), and Abbot William Humez (died 1222), the only one who wears the mitre, which had been obtained through the influence of Abbot Laurence but which he never had the honour of wearing. These early abbots have been placed against the wall of the refectory, which is Norman at the base and was probably erected in Crispin's time.

Strict cleanliness was enforced upon the monks and careful arrangements were made for the regular

washing of clothes. No monk went into meals without cleansing his hands at the lavatory, which can be observed at the southern end of the west walk, after which



STONE SEAT ALONG THE NORTH CLOISTER WALK
Showing nine holes cut in the stone for some form of mediæval game played by the monks.

he walked across to the south walk, where he found a cupboard filled with towels which were always "fair and white" when placed clean there every Sunday morning. This towel-cupboard can still be seen in the

four recesses in the wall, while the hooks for the wooden doors are yet in their place. Close to the cupboard is the principal door to the refectory, where the monks had their meals, being summoned by means of a bronze cymbalum, which hung outside and was struck by a hammer. This cymbalum is now in the abbey museum.

Having washed and dried their hands, the brethren would proceed in silence to take their places at the long tables prepared for them in the refectory. On feast days or on a special occasion, such as the anniversary of the death of some benefactor, wine was served, but the usual daily allowance for each monk was a flagon of ale. The ration also included a loaf of bread daily, and on feast days the cellarer provided fruit: cherries, plums, pears, apples or nuts, according to the season. The latter caused the framing of a special rule: it is on record that the brethren were forbidden to crack their nuts with their teeth! The prior sat at a high table supervising the whole conduct of the meal, with his bell beside him to give notice when grace was to be said, or for the beginning of the lector's reading. He could watch from his high seat how the brethren sat, the rules being very rigid concerning their behaviour, particularly with regard to having elbows on the table, or touching their faces or heads in any way. If guests were present they received a double allowance of food and were allowed to speak in a whisper, but the monks ate their meals in silence in order that the reader might be distinctly heard.

Of the very fine refectory only the wall against the cloister remains. At the Dissolution it was no longer required, and was consequently pulled down.

In 1252 it is said that Henry III. swore to observe

Magna Carta in the refectory, holding the Gospel in one hand and a lighted taper in the other. As the solemn oath was ended, the bishops and archbishops standing beside the king threw down their candles, saying, "So go out, with smoke and stench, the accursed souls of those who break or pervert the charter."

In 1294 Edward I. held a council there, when he imperiously demanded half the wealth of the clergy, a claim so outrageous that the Dean of St. Paul's dropped dead during his expostulation.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE is reached from the east walk of the cloister, where a richly decorated doorway gives entry to the vestibule. Time and perhaps a mistaken effort at preservation have caused much injury to the three sculptured figures, of which only fragments now remain on graceful pedestals above the double doorway. The right-hand pathway has been restored, but the left shows the constant wearing of the tread of feet. It has escaped restoration through being covered with a boarded floor for some centuries. Abbot Edwyn, the last of the Saxon abbots, lies buried in this vestibule, where there is also a Roman sarcophagus bearing an inscription to Valerius Amandinus.[1]

Alone among the conventual buildings the Chapter-House remains the solitary example of the XIIIth-century work under Henry III. It is a very graceful octagonal building, with a slender central column, from which radiate all the ribs of the vaulted roof. The windows, which are daringly large for their period, contain modern glass in memory of Dean Stanley. An arcading runs all round the chamber, forming the stalls in which the brethren sat for the daily meetings

[1] This stone coffin has been referred to on p. 13.

of the Chapter. Dean Stanley has drawn a vivid picture of the procedure.

> They marched in double file through the vestibule, of which the floor still bears traces of their feet. They bowed, on their entrance, to the Great Crucifix, which rose, probably, immediately before them over the stalls at the east end, where the Abbot and his four chief officers were enthroned. When they were all seated on the stone seats round, perfect freedom of speech was allowed. Now was the opportunity for making any complaints, and for confessing faults. . . . Here, too, was the scene of judgment and punishment; the details are such as recall a rough school rather than a grave ecclesiastical community. The younger monks were flogged elsewhere. But the others, stripped wholly or from the waist upwards, or in their shirts girt close round them, were scourged in public here, with rods of single or double thickness, by the "mature brothers" who formed the Council of the Abbot (but always excluding the accuser from the office), the criminal himself sitting on a three-legged bench—probably before the central column, which was used as a judgment-seat or whipping-post.

On the wall behind the arcading there are still traces of the painting which once covered it. The eastern wall shows XIVth-century work by an Italian artist, the rest being the somewhat crude work of an artist-monk, John of Gloucester, depicting the legendary history of St. John. The sculptured figure of Our Lord over the inner side of the doorway is modern, but the two beautiful statues on either side of St. Gabriel and the Virgin Mary are beautiful examples of original work.

The finest feature of the "incomparable Chapter-House," as Matthew Paris writes, is the floor of

encaustic tiles from Chertsey. There is no finer floor of this type to be seen anywhere, and the visitor is therefore obliged to put on the over-shoes provided in the vestibule before entering. The custodian will point out the chief tiles of interest: those portraying Henry III.; Queen Eleanor, his wife; the Confessor giving his ring to the poor man; the leopards of England; the fox chasing the hen; the salmon of the abbey legend, and so on.

THREE TILES OF THE VERY FINE FLOOR OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE
These encaustic tiles of dull red and cream colours were made at Chertsey in Surrey.

The abbey lent their Chapter-House to the king for the use of Parliament, and the House of Commons assembled there at varying intervals up to the death of Henry VIII., sitting there for the last time on the very day that the monarch died. The Chapel of St. Stephen in the palace of Westminster being no longer required after the Dissolution, it was presented to the Commons by Edward VI., and there they have sat ever since. Having been used by the Crown for so long during the monastic period, the Chapter-House had acquired a lay reputation, and in consequence was not delivered to the Dean and Chapter, but has been

retained as national property. Until 1863 it was used as the repository of the Public Records, being divided into two storeys, and crowded with galleries and cupboards. When the Public Record Office was built in Chancery Lane, the Chapter-House was brought back to its former condition, Sir Gilbert Scott doing the necessary restoration.

Beneath the Chapter-House is the only true crypt in the abbey. It has the same octagonal form as the room above, the vaulting springing from a short central pillar. The walls being eighteen feet thick made it a suitable place for the care of the Treasury of the Wardrobe, but as mentioned elsewhere[1] a daring burglary was successfully effected.

The Monks' Dormitory, which extended from the vestibule of the Chapter-House to the entrance passage to the Infirmary Cloister, was so large that it seems to have been intended for a greater number of brethren than are known to have used it. From the time of the Black Death there were never more than sixty monks housed within the convent.

The dormitory was twice burnt, not only suffering under the Great Fire of 1298, but again in 1447 through the inattention of one of the monks. There are still traces to be seen of the early windows, and the fine open hammer-beam roof belongs to the xvth century, erected after the second fire.

At the Dissolution the dormitory became divided into two unequal parts. The smaller portion, that nearest the church, was reserved for the Chapter library, which has been in existence since 1591.

The greater part of the old dorter of the monks is

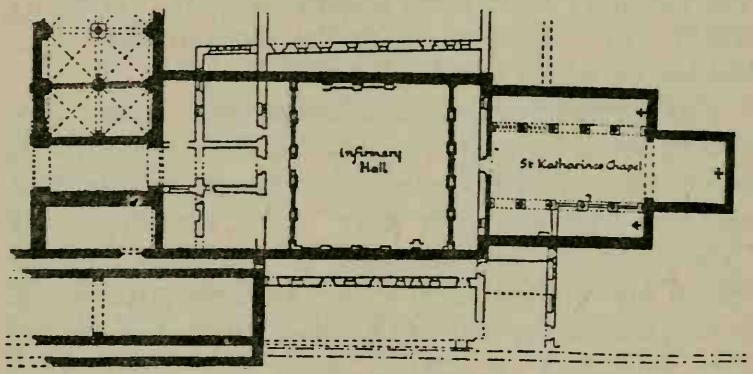
[1] See page 29.

now the big schoolroom of Westminster School, which still retains traces of the original windows, though it is mainly lit by windows of XVIIIth-century or of modern date. A Norman door gives entrance to a spiral staircase which led to a gloomy room below, so drear and dark that the suggestion that it was used for a prison for refractory monks has every probability. The sub-prior had a room leading out of the dormitory which had a window on to the cloister, close to a bracket on which stood a lamp.

THE UNDERCROFT OF THE DORMITORY, which consists of seven bays, is of sturdy Norman construction, being part of the Confessor's church of the XIth century. The two first bays, those nearest to the Chapter-House, are occupied by the Chapel of the Pyx, a low-vaulted room with a massive pillar in the centre. On the top slab of the altar, which is of slightly later date than the chapel itself, is a sunk recess, which may have contained a relic in former days. The name of Pyx was derived from the specimen coins of the realm being kept, for especial safety, in great treasure-chests in this chapel. It is now held by H.M. Office of Works, having, like the Chapter-House, been used for many centuries for secular purposes. It has been suggested that the famous robbery of the treasury took place in this chapel, and not in the crypt below the Chapter-House. A door leading out of the vestibule on the right-hand side, which probably led into the chapel through the now blocked-up arch, is known as the skin door, from the traces of human skin yet clinging to the inner side near the hinges. It is stated on vague authority that the burglar who suffered the cruel punishment of being flayed was a

red-haired man, who may have been caught attempting to rob the treasury.

Beyond the Chapel of the Pyx are the remaining five bays of the undercroft, now used as the abbey museum, in which are various objects of archæological interest, and the remains of the wooden effigies not shown in the collection kept above the Islip Chapel.

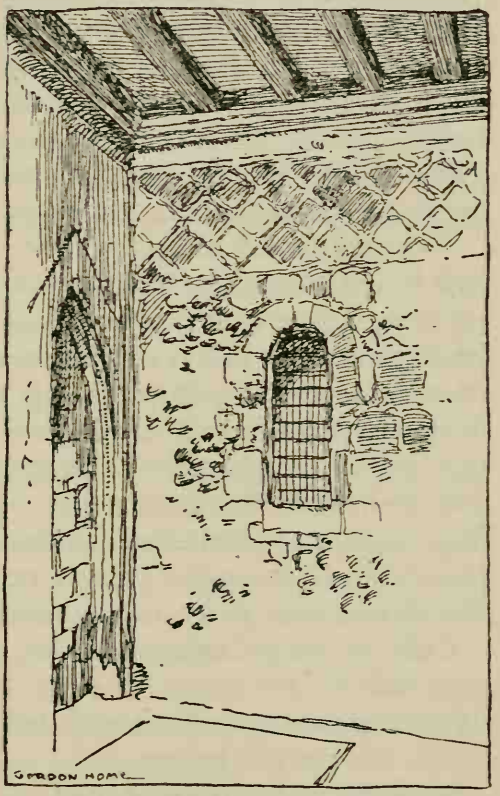


SUGGESTED PLAN OF THE INFIRMARY OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY
From "Westminster Abbey," by H. F. Westlake.

A small chapel known as St. Dunstan's leads out of this undercroft.

From the south-east corner of the cloisters a barrel-vaulted passage runs parallel with the undercroft, with which it is contemporary. In traversing this dark cloister one suddenly sees a glimpse, at the end of a tunnel-like passage on the left, of a quiet court-yard with a wrought-iron gate and a fountain in the centre. It is so unexpected that one feels that one has strayed away from London to some continental re-treat, and that a curé with broad-brimmed hat and long soutane may appear at any moment. As one walks

towards this picturesque sunny spot one finds oneself in a tiny cloister surrounded by dignified old houses, with a tall plane-tree growing in the small garth where the fountain plays. At first it does not seem particularly ecclesiastical, but on wandering round one finds on the eastern side a Gothic doorway obviously the entrance at one time to a chapel. For this peaceful retreat was once part of the infirmary, where the sick brethren of the convent retired, being tended by the infirmarer, and having their own especial chapel. The Gothic doorway was the west entrance to St. Katharine's Chapel, which was built shortly before 1160. It originally consisted of three aisles, with a chancel beyond containing the high altar to St. Katharine.



NORMAN WINDOW AND WALL IN THE INFIRMARY CLOISTER

It is in part of the site of the Infirmary of the abbey.

The aisles also had altars to St. Laurence and St. Edward, king and martyr.

With the dispersion of the monks there was no further need for this chapel, which quickly became the prey for the destroyer, the lead being stripped from the roof in 1546, and the whole chapel taken down in 1571. Portions of it are still, however, to be seen embodied among the domestic houses of later date, the XIIth-century arcade, with its alternate circular and octagonal columns, being built into a wall.

The sick monks at one time were housed in a long hall to the west of St. Katharine's, extending over the present cloister garth, but when the fire of 1298 burnt down this hall it was not re-erected, the system of cells around a cloister being preferred. The infirmarer's detailed accounts reveal that he reckoned the cost of each patient at twopence a day when on fish diet, and threepence when meat was allowed. The medicines dealt out to the suffering brethren consisted of camomile, ginger, various herbs, honey, and above all liquorice, which was extensively used.

Cells and chapel exist no longer, but the infirmarer's own hall or refectory, of early XIVth-century date, has fortunately been preserved, and now forms part of one of the canon's houses.

Although St. Benedict had not encouraged the solitary life, there was a recluse attached to the abbey, having his cell just beyond St. Katharine's Chapel, with a narrow window to enable him to hear the Mass and see the Elevation of the Host.

WESTMINSTER SCHOOL. There is no space to tell of Westminster School, whose first beginnings in the west cloister have been recorded; of its founding by

Henry VIII., and re-foundation by Queen Elizabeth; of the interest taken in it by Archbishop Laud; of the famous headmasters, among them being William Camden and Dr. Busby; of the hardships of the scholars until the middle of the XIXth century, when Dean Buckland interested himself in the better management, and of the final separation of the school from the Chapter in 1868. But it is of interest to know that Ashburnham House, which is now part of the school, incorporates portions of the prior's house.

The abbot had his spacious "lodging" behind the west walk of the cloisters, which is now occupied by the dean, who lives in a building of the XIVth century, the work of Abbot Litlyngton. The courtyard of the deanery is approached through an archway having an ancient doorway, though not originally in its present position. On the right is the deanery, on the left the abbot's hall, and across the cobbled yard are the steps leading to the famous rooms known as the Jericho Parlour and Jerusalem Chamber, which are built round the south-west tower of the church.

THE JERICHO PARLOUR, which was built by Abbot Islip about 1520, is rich in linenfold panelling of the XVIth century, besides having panels of stained glass of the same period. The Confessor's arms in a wreath, the Tudor royal arms, some of the Tudor badges, and the badge of Abbot Islip can be noticed.

THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER. A small lobby leads to the Jerusalem Chamber, now used for the meetings of the Chapter. The origin of the name has had various derivations, some saying the cedar-wood panelling is responsible, while others bring forward the more

probable suggestions of the tapestries on the walls, which once illustrated the history of Jerusalem.

It was in this room that the memorable scene of the death of Henry IV. took place. The king, who had been seriously ill for some time, had a sudden seizure before St. Edward's shrine, and was carried into the Jerusalem Chamber, where he was laid upon a pallet before the fire. The chronicler Fabyan has left a vivid account of the king's death, which Shakespeare has rendered immortal. It will be remembered how the sick monarch had relied upon a prophecy which said he should die in Jerusalem, and when told the name of the room to which he had been conveyed, replied:

> Laud be to God! even there my life must end.
> It hath been prophesied to me many years,
> I should not die but in Jerusalem;
> Which vainly I had supposed the Holy Land:
> But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie:
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

Dean Williams restored the chamber, in which he gave munificent entertainments, the greatest being to the French ambassadors who had come to the English court concerning the marriage of Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles; the Westminster Conference was also held there in 1643.

Besides the tapestries of XVIth-century date, the windows are of particular interest, seven panels in the north window being of the XIIIth century, conjectured by Mr. Westlake to have been in the old Lady Chapel which was taken down by Henry VII.

The Abbot's Hall, which is just behind the Jerusalem Chamber, is a stately room, now used as the

college hall by the scholars of Westminster, who enjoy the satisfaction of having their meals in a XIVth-century hall where the abbot was wont to entertain his guests. There is no longer an open fire in the centre, as in former days, when the smoke found its way out through the louvre in the roof, whose great beams are supported on carved stone corbels bearing painted coats of arms. An efficient modern stove now warms the hall, preventing the boys from continuing their former reckless amusement of tossing burning coal to one another from the open fire. A splendid Jacobean screen hides the entrance to the kitchens at the southern end.

Of the four gates which once gave entrance to the abbey precincts only one remains—that from College Street — the other three have vanished, leaving no traces. There was a gate at the eastern end of Tothill Street, near which was the almonry, established to assist the poor of the neighbourhood. The duty of the almoner was to seek out the needy, to provide shrouds for the dead, and generally to minister to all who were in suffering. It was in the almonry that Caxton set up his printing-press in 1476 at the sign of the Red Pale.

There is yet one other building to mention before taking leave of the abbey and its precincts, for though there is nothing to be seen of it to-day, and even its site is somewhat uncertain, yet it is of some interest. This building was a solid stone structure, standing probably where the beautiful Middlesex Guildhall now stands, and was erected to carry three great bells. By some curious error, Sir Walter Besant imagined that it was St. Peter's Sanctuary—the Westminster City of Refuge—a fortress for the refugees, and insisted that it was within this gloomy building that

Elizabeth Woodville sought refuge, giving birth to her unfortunate young son, Edward V. The sanctuary at Westminster, however, was no mere circumscribed building, but the whole of the precincts within the convent walls, so that it seems strange that Besant should have thus mistaken the solid bell tower.

CHAPTER V

ST. MARGARET'S, WESTMINSTER, LAMBETH PARISH CHURCH AND CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

Lying in the shadow of the great abbey-church of Westminster, within the embracing circuit of its rights of sanctuary, the parish of St. Margaret has always been in the position of a satellite to its major planet. By the casual visitor, indeed, it has been regarded as a mere obstruction to the proper vision of the abbey, and one which might well be removed. Such a suggestion has at times been seriously considered, but not by those who dwell within the parish and appreciate the simpler charms of the old church, with its memories of local citizens, insignificant though their somewhat uneventful lives may be in comparison with those of the men who lie within the walls of the stately fane alongside.

There is considerable uncertainty with regard to the origin of the church, but tradition gives Edward the Confessor as the founder, a story which Stow confidently supports.

There seems every probability that a church was built in honour of St. Margaret before the middle of the XIIth century, but "that is the most," says the Rev. H. F. Westlake, "that can be stated with any definite certainty." This XIIth-century church required rebuilding by the time of Edward I., "at which

time," according to Stow, "the staple and parishioners of Westminster built it all of new, the great chancel excepted, which was built by the abbots of Westminster."

By the end of the xvth century the church again needed rebuilding, or perhaps the parishioners were inspired by the building operations so energetically pursued by their great neighbour—the abbey. Dame Mary Billing, the wife of Sir Thomas Billing, Lord Chief Justice of England, provided the money required for the south aisle with its Trinity Chapel at the east end, while the Abbot of Westminster, as rector, rebuilt the chancel, and the parishioners supplied the necessary funds for the rest of the church. The building operations seem to have been concluded by April 1523, when the chancel was "hallowed."

By this date the interior of the church had assumed the appearance which it bears to-day, with its slender columns and large Perpendicular windows. Later centuries saw the introduction of unsightly galleries, a three-decker pulpit and high pews, but these are now only a memory to be verified in xviiith-century prints. The graceful beauty of the Perpendicular architecture remains, but the rich colour of the pre-Reformation church has vanished, with the painted walls of the chapels, the gleaming statues, and the gilded tabernacles on the high altar.

Of the original exterior no very certain impression can be obtained, for in 1754 the church was rendered weather-proof by a casing of Portland stone, while with the drastic thoroughness so dominant a feature in most restorations every ornamental excrescence in the shape of buttress, turret, or canopied niche was swept away.

Just before the final rebuilding of the church, William Caxton, who had set up his printing-press at the sign of the Red Pale, near the almonry, died and was buried in the church, where his wife Maude also lies. He left a gift of fifteen copies of the *Golden Legend* to the church, which were sold shortly after for sums varying from 5s. 7d. to 6s. 8d., not altogether a poor bargain for the church, since the total proceeds would amount to some £45 in value of 1913; but a very bad one according to modern ideas, since these precious copies would command relatively enormous sale prices. Until 1820 when the Roxburghe Club put up a tablet, there was no memorial to Caxton, but now a fine window has been presented to the church by the printers of London, at the east end of the south aisle. In the central light Caxton is shown at his printing-press, while St. Bede on the left can be seen writing the Gospel of St. John, and Erasmus on the right is correcting proofs of his New Testament.

Though not a monastic church, St. Margaret's had a narrow escape from destruction with the coming of the Reformation. Protector Somerset, foiled in his attempt on the abbey, determined to obtain elsewhere the stone required for his new house in the Strand, and his predatory eye fixed upon St. Margaret's as a convenient quarry. His design, however, was forcibly prevented, for it is on record that "the workmen had no sooner advanced their scaffolds when the parishioners gathered together in great multitudes, with bows and arrows, staves and clubs, and other such offensive weapons, which so terrified the workmen that they ran away in great amazement, and never could be brought again upon that employment."

Apart from this dastardly attempt St. Margaret's was not especially threatened by the Reformation. Its losses were confined to its altar furniture and statuary, and especially the figures on the rood screen, which had only been erected twenty-seven years before. The churchwardens' brief comment upon this can be seen in the item:

for clevyng and sawyng of the Roode Mary and John, xijd.

The doorway which led by a staircase to the rood loft still exists, though blocked by the tomb of Mary, Lady Dudley, the daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, and sister to the famous Lord High Admiral who commanded the English navy in the fateful year 1588.

During Queen Mary's reign a misguided zealot, William Flower, made an assault upon the priest who was officiating at the altar, striking him with a sword. For this offence he was burned at the stake in the churchyard in 1555.

Nothing very momentous occurred in the annals of the church during the reign of Elizabeth, but in that of James I. it was associated with two important events. Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded in Old Palace Yard on 29th October, 1618, and his bleeding body was carried into St. Margaret's and buried in the chancel. A brass tablet now records this fact, and can be seen opposite the Seymour monument. The inscription ends with the following advice:

Reader, should you reflect on his errors, remember his many virtues, and that he was a mortal.

Four years before his death the House of Commons had deserted the abbey, owing to a dispute over the

manner of the communion service, and had chosen St. Margaret's as its official church. The abbey was retaining the wafer bread allowed by the rubric, but objected to by the more advanced Protestants to be found among the Commons, who removed in a body to St. Margaret's, which they have attended ever since.

A momentous episode of the conflict between Charles I. and the Long Parliament was enacted within the walls of St. Margaret's when the two Houses, the divines of the Westminster Assembly, together with the Scottish Commissioners, met on 25th September, 1643, to sign the Solemn League and Covenant. One of the members of the Assembly recorded in his diary this memorable scene, describing how one minister prayed "near upon an hour," and when he came down from the pulpit, another minister took his place and "made an exhortation of another hour long." After this the Covenant was read, clause by clause, those present lifting their hands in assent before they went into the chancel to sign their names, having agreed to "extirpate Popery, prelacy, superstition, schism and profaneness."

Five years later a notorious sermon was preached, when Hugh Peters, the famous Independent minister, occupied the pulpit, and thundered for two or three hours against King Charles, comparing him to Barabbas, and urging the congregation to see that the tyrant and traitor was brought to a speedy and condign punishment. This sermon was delivered on 20th December, 1648, and in little more than a month King Charles was beheaded, while eleven years later, soon after the Restoration, Hugh Peters himself, "a very

imprudent and temerarious man," as Baillie, the Scottish Presbyterian, described him, suffered the consequences of his boldness by execution at Charing Cross.

There are two other memories of famous Puritans within St. Margaret's. John Milton lived for some years in Westminster, in what was then known as Petty France, and in this church the banns for his second marriage were called in 1656. His second wife was Katherine Woodcock, who died in the following year and was buried in St. Margaret's with her infant. A window, a gift from Americans, at the west end of the north aisle records the connection of the poet with the parish. It portrays Milton in his days of blindness dictating to one of his daughters.

Admiral Blake, the renowned soldier-sailor who made the Commonwealth respected on the seas, and whose body was ejected from the abbey after the Restoration, is also remembered by a window in the north aisle.

The chief beauty of the interior is to be found in the east window, a magnificent example of early XVIth-century coloured glass, the background of blue sky behind the central picture of the Crucifixion being remarkable for the intensity of its colours. On the lowest corner of the right-hand side there is a portrait of Katharine of Aragon, with St. Katharine and her wheel above. On the opposite left-hand side is the kneeling figure of Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII. to whom Katharine of Aragon was affianced, while above him is the patron saint of England.

This window has had a chequered history. It was never intended for St. Margaret's but was a gift

to Henry VII. for his new chapel then being built in the abbey, from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, on the betrothal of their daughter to Prince Arthur. By the time the window arrived, Prince Arthur had died, and his brother, Henry VIII., was on the throne. Having married his brother's widow, the gift was peculiarly ungratifying to the king who had no wish to see it. The window was therefore despatched to Waltham Abbey, where it reposed until the Dissolution sent it wandering to a chapel in New Hall, Essex, which eventually became the property of General Monk.

Though on the side of the Parliament, Monk had no desire for his fine window to be broken by the Puritans, so he caused it to be buried. At the Restoration it was brought to the light of day once more. When New Hall fell into ruin, the window was put into the private chapel of Copt Hall in Essex, and was finally sold to St. Margaret's in 1758 for four hundred guineas. It is only fair to remark that it was a "Restoration" committee which was responsible for this purchase, one of the few good deeds done by the "restorers."

The west window, erected through the generosity of American visitors, commemorates Sir Walter Raleigh, whose meteoric career found its end within sight of the church. As already mentioned, his body lies under the chancel, but many other churches claim the possession of the severed head, which his sorrowing widow carried about with her in a bag throughout her lifetime. West Horsley in Surrey has some justification for its assertion that the head rests in the chapel, for Carew Raleigh, Sir Walter's eldest surviving son, owned the estate, but St. Margaret's likes to believe the tradition that Carew eventually returned the head

to his father's grave, or that the head was buried there with Carew himself.

On each side of the west door are monuments to ladies who were gentlewomen to Queen Elizabeth. Blanche Parry, on the south side, died at the age of eighty-two in 1589. She is represented kneeling at a faldstool, wearing a long full dress, a tight pleated cap, and a small ruff. Her benevolence to the poor was shown in leaving sums of money to Westminster, and "seaven score bushells of wheat and rye yearlie for ever," for the poor of Barton and Newton in Herefordshire.

Lady Dorothy Stafford, on the north side of the entrance, was the granddaughter of that Edward, last Duke of Buckingham, whom Shakespeare has presented in so noble a guise on the eve of his execution:

> You few that loved me
> And dare be bold to weep for Buckingham,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Go with me, like good angels, to my end,
> And, as the long divorce of steel falls on me,
> Make of your prayers one sweet sacrifice
> And lift my soul to heaven.

Lambeth Parish Church

If one stand in the public gardens adjoining the Houses of Parliament, one sees across the river a cluster of time-worn buildings which represents nearly the whole of the antiquity of Lambeth. The Archbishops of Canterbury have had their London residence there since the XIIIth century, when their palace was not

backed by dingy streets, but looked over green fields and a transparent and unembanked river.

Close to the fine Tudor gateway of the palace stands the parish church, with its XIVth-century tower, just able to look over the crenellated towers of its neighbour.

Of the XIVth-century church only the tower remains, for nave, chancel and chapels were entirely rebuilt in 1857, the present structure merely preserving the general outline of the original. There had been two chapels in the old church, both built in 1552, one by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, subsequently used by the family as a place of burial, and the other by Sir John Leigh, who was buried there with his wife.

The main interest in Lambeth Church is to be found in the table-monument in the churchyard, to the Tradescants—father and son—who had lived in South Lambeth, not far from the church. All four sides of the monument are sculptured to illustrate the lives of the two John Tradescants, who were not only famous as gardeners and naturalists, but were intrepid travellers as well.

John Tradescant, the elder, who died in 1638, had undertaken many adventurous journeys, joining an expedition against the Algerine corsairs, and also one to Archangel in 1618. Both these voyages were used by Tradescant as opportunities for collecting knowledge of plants, the trip to Russia producing a treatise giving the earliest account of Russian plants, while from Algiers he brought back the Algerian apricot. He entered the service of the Duke of Buckingham, and was with him up to his death in 1628, when he seems to have become royal gardener to the king and queen.

The tower of the church has some interest as being the building against which Mary of Modena, the unfortunate queen of James II., sheltered on that stormy night in December 1688, when escaping from Whitehall. She had been rowed across from Horseferry and was waiting for the coach which was to carry her to Gravesend.

Chelsea Old Church

As the scene of a notable royal wedding it is well that Chelsea Old Church should have a place in this little volume. It is strange how few are aware that it was in this small village church — it was nothing else in Tudor times — Henry VIII. was married to his third wife. The old brick structure is one of the most quaint and fascinating of the ancient parish churches of London. It retains an old-world charm which in other churches has been ruthlessly swept away under the plea of modern requirements, an all-embracing term under which the odd excrescences introduced during the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries have been removed. Other famous riverside churches — Putney, Chiswick, Hammersmith, and Fulham—have lost the distinction which was formerly theirs through having been rebuilt, and only Chelsea remains to show the type of building in which residents in the Thames-side villages worshipped during the past centuries.

It is profoundly true, as Mr. Randall Davies remarks in his delightful book on the Old Church, which is obviously a labour of love, that to restore such a church, "whose historic associations far outweigh

its value as a piece of architecture, is to rob it of the most precious quality which time has lent it." Fortunately there are few to-day who would dare to lay a vandalic hand upon the historic little building with its quaint box-like nave thrust in such an unexpected way upon the Gothic chancel and chapels. Londoners have grown to love the small wind-swept church by the river, the red brick of the tower and nave darkened by age to a dignified purplish-brown, and few would wish to have it exchanged for any other building however architecturally perfect.

A Norman edifice may have existed on the site, but the first documentary evidence of any church here was the papal letter of 1290, giving certain favours to those who should visit it on the Feast of All Saints, which was the original dedication. In the XVIIth century, by some curious chance, the church had become known as St. Luke's, the name now given to the new parish church in Sydney Street.

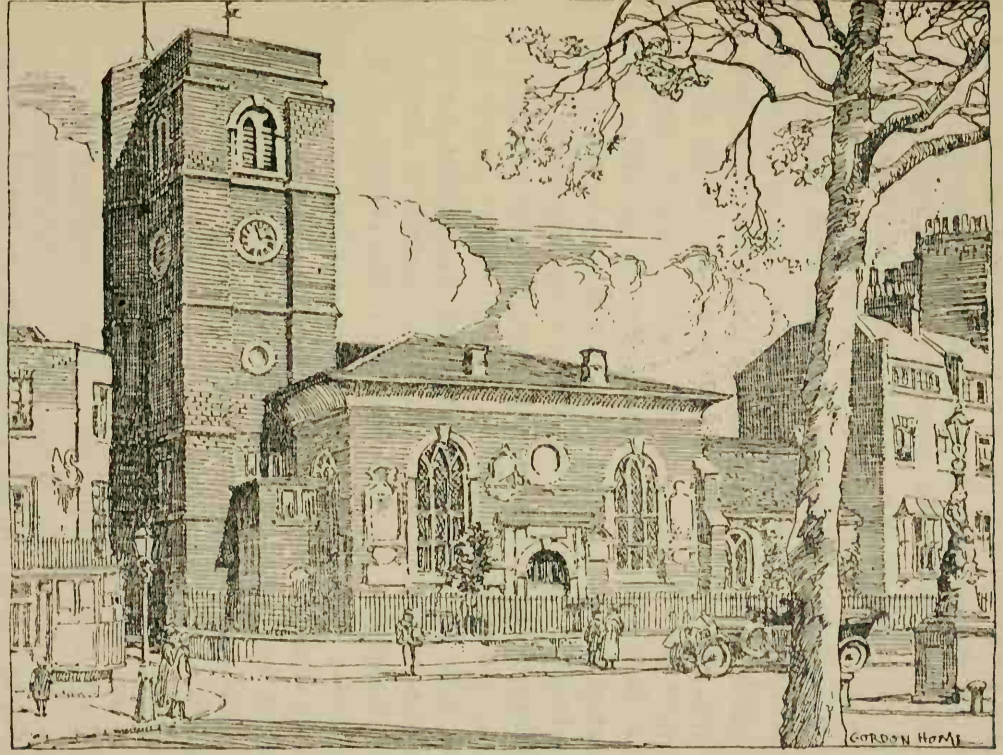
The earliest part of the building is the chancel, which probably dates back to the XIIIth century; the Early English features are, however, much covered up. The north chapel belongs to the XIVth century, and that to the south replaced a former one in the opening years of the XVIth century.

The nave was rebuilt in 1670, when greater accommodation was required. An earlier tower was pulled down and the present one built at the same time. Until 1815 the tower possessed a cupola in which hung a bell, presented by the Hon. William Ashburnham in 1679. According to the popular story he lost his whereabouts when coming up the river from Lambeth one foggy November evening, and only discovered

his position when he heard the church clock at Chelsea strike nine, and was thus enabled to make a safe landing. In gratitude he presented the bell, together with a grant of money, with instructions that it should be rung every night at nine o'clock from Michaelmas to Lady Day. On the removal of the cupola, the bell was first hung in the tower, but is now to be found in the porch.

Several restorations took place in the XIXth century, when the church underwent the change to square pews and a three-decker pulpit, but nothing drastic was effected, as the needs of the growing population of the parish were met by the erection of the new church of St. Luke's, which became the official parish church, the old building being known as a chapel of ease with an assistant-minister under the rector.

Chelsea has for some centuries been able to boast of the number of famous men and women who have resided within her parish, and many memorials of these distinguished inhabitants are to be found in the church. But of all the notable men of the past not one has made Chelsea more pre-eminently his own than Sir Thomas More, who lived there for fourteen years with his family in a house whose site was located across the present Beaufort Street. There in the pleasant garden, which ran down to the river, he enjoyed the privacy of his family life, wrote his books and entertained his friends, among them being the king, Henry VIII., who had had feelings of attachment for his chancellor before he ventured to have a different opinion from his royal master. Erasmus also visited him, and to his pleasant home at Chelsea there also came Hans Holbein, who is thought to



CHELSEA OLD CHURCH

The nave was rebuilt in 1670, but the chancel is that of the early structure in which Henry VIII. was hastily married to Jane Seymour in 1536.

have designed the Renaissance capitals on the pillars of the archway leading into the More Chapel. These capitals have Ionic volutes at the corners, human heads being carved in the centre of one, and cherubs' heads in that of the other. The date 1528 and the arms of Sir Thomas More give confirmation to the traditional connections of Holbein, who might very possibly have drawn such a design as a graceful gift to his host, for it was during his lifetime that More erected the tomb which stands on the south of the chancel for himself and his two wives. It consists of a low altar-tomb, surmounted by a stone arch bearing his arms and those of his wives. In the recess is a large marble slab bearing a long autobiographical inscription in Latin. The monument was erected in 1532, three years before Sir Thomas More was executed on Tower Hill for his opposition to the divorce of Henry VIII. from Katharine of Aragon. His body lies in the chancel of the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower, among so many other distinguished victims of the block. Certain writers have asserted that the body was afterwards brought to Chelsea, but there are no grounds whatever for this statement.

Henry VIII. was married to Jane Seymour in this little church the day after poor Anne Boleyn had suffered death within the Tower. During the ceremony he must have stood close to the monument of More, but if any thought of his former friend crossed the mind of the self-indulgent monarch, it is very doubtful whether it would have caused feelings of remorse.

The More Chapel. The south chapel, which is

known as More's, was rebuilt by Sir Thomas, who pulled down or remodelled a former one existing upon the site. It contains some interesting monuments, the oldest being to Jane, Duchess of Northumberland, the wife of the ambitious duke who endeavoured to place Lady Jane Grey, his daughter-in-law, upon the throne and thus create a royal house of Dudley. This Gothic monument, resembling that of Chaucer in Westminster Abbey, was at one time very beautiful, but is now much mutilated, largely through the instrumentality of a former owner of the chapel, who damaged it in order to obtain more room for the pews, the letting of which was valuable. In the centre of the monument is an inscription, on the left of which is the matrix of a brass which showed the kneeling figures of the duchess's eight sons, while on the right there still remains the brass bearing the figure of the duchess and her four daughters.

The Lawrence Chapel, on the north side of the chancel, still retains portions of the three original xivth-century windows, although one is blocked by the Colvile monument, while the middle one has been cut through by a door, and of the third only the upper part is preserved.

In 1590 Sir Thomas Lawrence, a wealthy goldsmith, purchased from Henry VIII. the manor to which the chapel was attached. He is buried in the chapel, being represented on his monument, with his wife, three sons and six daughters. His eldest girl, Sara, who married Richard Colvile, has a remarkable monument alongside that of her father. She is shown with uplifted hands, rising from her grave in her winding-sheet as at the Resurrection.

Sir John Lawrence, who succeeded his father, is remembered by a tablet of black marble, surrounded by a beautiful carved frame of white alabaster. His dispute with Sir Edward Cecil, who had come to live in Chelsea, and finding the church very crowded had ventured to set up a pew in the Lawrence Chapel, makes very amusing reading.

In his novel, *The Hillyars and the Burtons*, Henry Kingsley introduces these monuments, calling the Lawrences by the name of Hillyar. James Burton, the blacksmith's boy, speaking of that to Sir Thomas Lawrence says:

> I always loved that monument better than any in Chelsea Old Church. 'Tis a good example of a mural monument of that time, they say; but they have never seen it on a wild autumn afternoon, when the sun streams in on it from the south-west, lights it up for an instant, and then sends one long ray quivering up the wall to the roof and dies.

Henry Kingsley was well-acquainted with the old church, for he and his more famous brother Charles lived at the Old Rectory, their father being the incumbent from 1836 to 1860.

The most conspicuous monument on the north wall of the nave is an elaborate canopied tomb to Lady Jane Cheyne, who lies in a reclining position on a bleak marble sarcophagus. She was the daughter of the loyal Duke of Newcastle, who spent his fortune in the cause of Charles I., and whose tomb in Westminster Abbey has been mentioned in a previous chapter.[1] During the Civil War Lady Jane endured a siege, which she conducted against the forces of the Parliament, and had had much to endure under the Common-

[1] See p. 61.

G. H.

THE NORTH AMBULATORY OF THE CHOIR OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY

On the left is the tomb of Henry III., the chief builder of the abbey, and on the right (beyond the transept) the north aisle of the nave.

wealth while her father was in exile. But she eventually found peace in Chelsea, when she married Charles, Lord Cheyne, and bought the Manor House. She is remembered for her benevolence to the poor, and for her generosity to the church, whose restoration she greatly assisted shortly before her death in 1669.

Across the nave on the south wall is another fine tomb. It is to Geoffrey Fiennes, Lord Dacre, and Anne his wife, who died within a few months of one another—the husband in September 1594, and the wife in May 1595. Lady Dacre is remembered in Westminster as the foundress of Emanuel Hospital, to which Chelsea has the privilege of sending two poor persons, provided that the tomb is well preserved.

Not far from the Dacre tomb are the chained books presented by Sir Hans Sloane, who died in 1753, and whose monument is so well known a feature in the churchyard. The tomb consists of a funeral urn under a stone canopy, with an inscription stating that Sir Hans was the President of the Royal Society and of the College of Physicians, and that he died at the age of ninety-two, ending his virtuous and beneficent life "without the least pain of body and with a conscious serenity of mind."

The oldest tomb in the church is that of Edmund, Lord Bray, who died in 1539. He was the cousin and heir of that Sir Reginald Bray, who was the architect of St. George's Chapel, Windsor,[1] and who obtained the manor of Chelsea in 1485.

[1] See p. 186.

CHAPTER VI

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR

From its earliest days St. George's has always been a royal chapel, founded by royal authority for the use of the royal family and the household within the castle walls. Unassociated with parochial needs, it has also had no connection with any monastic order, for it was served by a college of secular priests with a warden, until it assumed its present establishment under a dean and chapter.

At the Reformation it was specially exempted from suppression, and though the beauty of the services was diminished, Queen Elizabeth showed a keen interest that the choir at least should maintain its high reputation, prohibiting the dismissal of the singing-men and boys, desiring that the music should "not be of less reputation in our days, but rather augmented and increased."

Windsor Castle has been a royal stronghold from the time of Harold II., when the chalk cliff above the Thames was doubtless protected by some form of wooden palisade. But no chapel is mentioned before the time of Henry I., although William the Conqueror had certainly erected some kind of fortress there. The first recorded chapel was dedicated to St. Edward the Confessor, retaining this dedication when re-

constructed by Henry III., who was one of the great builders of the castle. Of this chapel a few traces can be seen in the dean's cloister, where the painted head of a king, perhaps that of Henry III., is now preserved under glass. The lower portion of the eastern wall of the present chapel may be part of the western wall of Henry's building. In this wall there still exists a door enriched with beautiful XIIIth-century ironwork bearing the name of the smith — Gilebertus — in several places.

Little more than sixty years after its erection, Henry III.'s Chapel was pulled down by Edward III., who dedicated the new chapel, built for the use of the Knights of the Garter, the new order of knighthood which he founded, to the patron saint of England, St. George.

Edward IV. finding this chapel to be unsafe, ordered it to be completely taken down, so that nothing to-day is left to recall the features of the first chapel of St. George, for, apart from the door at the east end, the whole chapel is Perpendicular, the architectural style prevailing in England during the whole of the XVth century. Edward is believed to have refounded the chapel as an expiation of his sins, for the "indirect crook'd way" by which he had attained the throne. He undoubtedly showed great interest in the chapel, which was begun in 1474, and elected to be buried there, his will giving clear directions as to his tomb and chantry chapel.

The king's grave is to be seen in the north aisle of the choir. It is of plain black marble, and lacks the figure of silver gilt desired by Edward, whose wishes were apparently never carried out. The fine wrought-

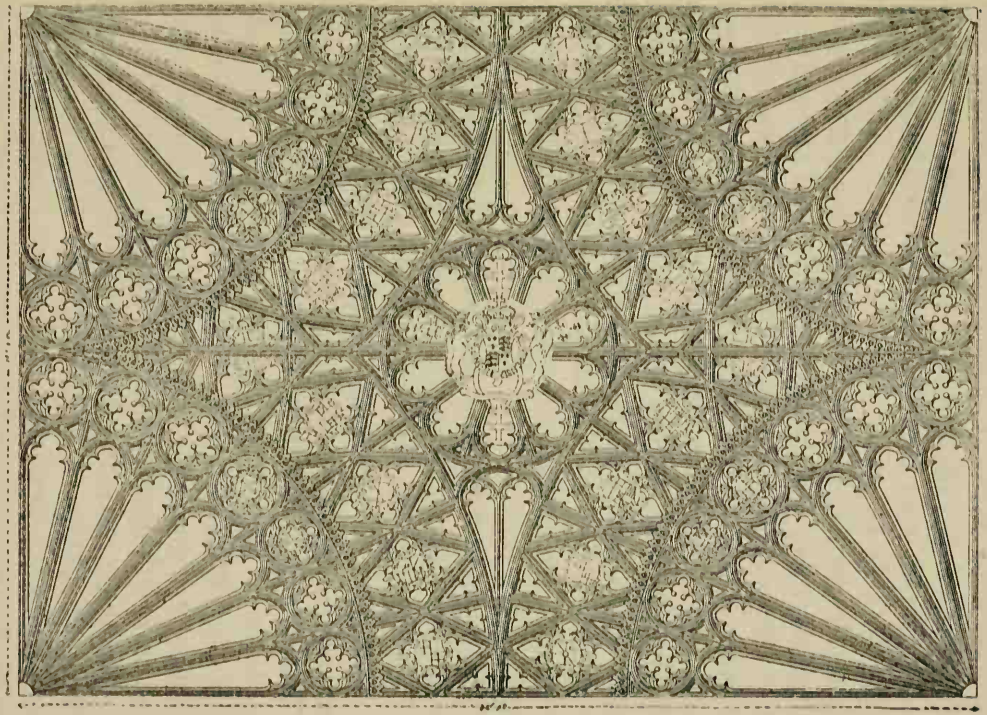
iron screen which once surrounded the tomb is now placed on the left of the altar. The chantry chapel above, with the oriel window looking down upon the altar, has been converted into a royal pew, and is well known as the one from which Queen Victoria, in the early days of her widowhood, watched the wedding of the Prince of Wales with the beautiful Princess Alexandra of Denmark.

Elizabeth Woodville, the queen of Edward IV., lies beside her husband at her especial wish: "I bequeathe my body to be buried with the bodie of my Lord at Windesoure, according to the will of my saide Lorde and myne, without pompes entreing or costlie expensis doune there aboughts."

The precise reason is not known which caused Edward IV. to break the continuity of royal burials at Westminster Abbey, where for over two centuries the monarchs had all desired to lie, but he preferred the chapel of his own building, and thus became the first of the monarchs who chose Windsor as his resting-place.

The chapel as it stands to-day is a perfect example of the Late Perpendicular period, enriched with the fan vaulting which is peculiar to England. Its only rivals in this form of architecture are to be found in Henry VII.'s Chapel, described in an earlier chapter, and in King's College Chapel at Cambridge. The effect of the great windows and the delicate columns supporting the rich splendour of the fretted roof is most harmonious and beautiful.

Actual building operations did not begin until about 1476, for the site had first to be cleared of Edward III.'s Chapel, then in a dangerous condition,



FAN VAULTING IN THE ROOF OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR

but after that the work went on rapidly, the choir and aisles being finished by the time that Edward IV. was buried in 1483. The nave and western chapels were finished by 1496, and the roof vaulting of the whole chapel was completed in the early years of Henry VIII.'s reign.

The chapel has a central crossing with north and south transepts, nave and choir, both of seven bays, being of equal length. The exterior is remarkable for the great extent of the windows, the flying buttresses which help to support the weight of the roof, and the polygonal chapels which break the monotony of the length and hide the buttresses. One of the most beautiful features of the interior, apart from the fan vaulting, is the frieze of angels below the clerestory windows.

The large west window is made up from fragments of old glass from other windows, while the east window was restored by Sir Gilbert Scott after its destruction in 1786 to allow a huge window representing the Resurrection by West to be set up.

The two chief architects of the chapel were Richard Beauchamp, Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Reginald Bray. The former was appointed in 1472 when work was first commenced, and became Dean of Windsor in 1478, in addition to holding his bishopric. He died in 1481, being buried at the east end of the south aisle.

THE BRAY CHAPEL. Sir Reginald Bray succeeded Beauchamp as architect, becoming responsible for the greater part of the chapel, which bears his badge of the hemp-braye—a tool for breaking hemp—cut in many places on the stone walls and roof. The south transept is known as the Bray Chapel, in which Sir

Reginald desired to be buried, having given orders for a tomb which was never erected. It is said that he was also responsible for the design of Henry VII.'s Chapel, where he was present at the laying of the foundation-stone in 1503. As he died the same year he could have seen little of the result of his work.

A year after the death of Edward IV. another royal body was buried in the chapel, but without pomp or ostentation. Richard III. had ordered the removal of the unfortunate Henry VI. from Chertsey Abbey, where stories of miracles performed at the tomb were becoming talked of, in order that he might keep a greater supervision over the grave. No monument has ever been erected, although Henry VII. had evolved a great scheme for removing his body a second time to the chapel he was building at Westminster, where his shrine was to be erected. This plan had not reached its achievement when Henry died in 1509, and his son Henry VIII. appears to have been quite content to allow the "royal saint" to remain under a plain stone slab in the south aisle of St. George's. The arms of Henry VI. are carved in the vaulted ceiling of the bay below which he lies buried.

Having no love of Westminster Abbey, Henry VIII. had no desire to lie in the wonderful chapel devised by his father. He gave instructions that his body should rest between the stalls and the high altar with "an honourable tomb with a fayre grate," though he confessed that for his own part "he would be content to have it buryed in any place," were it not for reasons of state. Oblivious of the fact that in discarding the Pope he had overthrown the Popish faith, he issued orders for a convenient altar for the saying of daily

Masses at his tomb—and then, remembering the other royal tombs in the chapel, he added, "also we will that the tombes and aultars of King Henry VI. and also of King Edward IV. . . . be made more princely."

But the task which he had neglected himself during his reign was not carried out by others, who were too occupied in the troubled years which followed his death to think of the royal wishes. Neither of his daughters erected a tomb to his memory; so that he rests without any memorial beside the body of his favourite wife, Jane Seymour.

For a century no other monarch joined Henry VIII. at Windsor, when on a snowy day in February, 1649, a mournful procession carried the coffin of Charles I. into St. George's Chapel, the black velvet pall becoming whitened by the falling snow.

It was George III. who cut the tomb-house in the chalk to the east of the chapel, and was the first British sovereign whose remains were placed within it. The chapel above this tomb-house is known as the Albert Memorial Chapel, having been restored and re-decorated by Queen Victoria as a memorial to the Prince Consort.

The Lady Chapel. Originally the Lady Chapel, which had replaced the old chapel of St. Edward and St. George, had been intended by Henry VII. as a burial-place for himself and a shrine for Henry VI., but later he was persuaded that Westminster had greater claims upon the body of his saintly ancestor. Henry VIII. subsequently presented the chapel to Cardinal Wolsey, who was preparing a sumptuous tomb for himself when he fell from power. The black

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR

The beautiful fan-vaulted roofs seen from the north aisle. Through the arch to the right appears the south transept, and to the left the choir.

From a drawing by F. Mackenzie published in 1810.

marble sarcophagus made to contain the mortal remains of Henry's great statesman remained in the chapel until the construction of the tomb-house below caused its removal in 1805. Three years later it was used to contain the ashes of Nelson, and is now the familiar feature of the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral.[1]

Apart from its employment as a royal burial-place, St. George's is chiefly remembered for its connection with the Order of the Garter, the most illustrious in the realm. The story of its origin, through the dropping of a garter, is now much doubted, though the motto would seem to give credence to the tradition. Whatever may have been the immediate cause which suggested the name, the Order has been reserved for a very small group of the noblest and most distinguished men in the land, ever since its institution by Edward III. in 1348, who built a new chapel for the accommodation of the knights.

Each knight, the number of whom is limited to twenty-six, possesses a stall in the choir, on the back of which is placed a gilded brass plate engraved with his arms. Above the canopy is his crested helmet and his richly-emblazoned banner, which adds a gorgeous note of colour to the beauty of the choir. The stall-plates remain, though helmet and banner are removed at the death of the knight. Besides being works of art in themselves, the plates are full of historic interest, bearing some of the most illustrious names in English history. Among them are found those of James I. of Scotland, so long a semi-prisoner at Windsor; Francis I. of France; the Duke of Buckingham, executed by Henry VIII.; the poet-earl of Surrey;

[1] See volume on St. Paul's in this series.

and Lord Burleigh, the famous minister of Queen Elizabeth.

THE RUTLAND CHAPEL, which forms the north transept, was founded by the Duchess of Exeter, the sister of Edward IV. It contains many interesting monuments, the most important being that of Sir George Manners, Lord Roos, and Lady Anne his wife, the daughter of the Duchess of Exeter.

A remarkable memorial to Princess Charlotte, the only child of George IV., who had married Leopold I., King of the Belgians, can be seen in the chapel at the northern side of the west end. The young princess, from whom the nation had hoped much, died with her infant child after only a very short experience of a happy married life. The monument shows the body of the princess lying upon a bier, surrounded by weeping mourners, while her spirit is represented as mounting heavenwards. The death of Princess Charlotte made the little Princess Victoria the next heir to the throne after her childless uncle William IV.

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